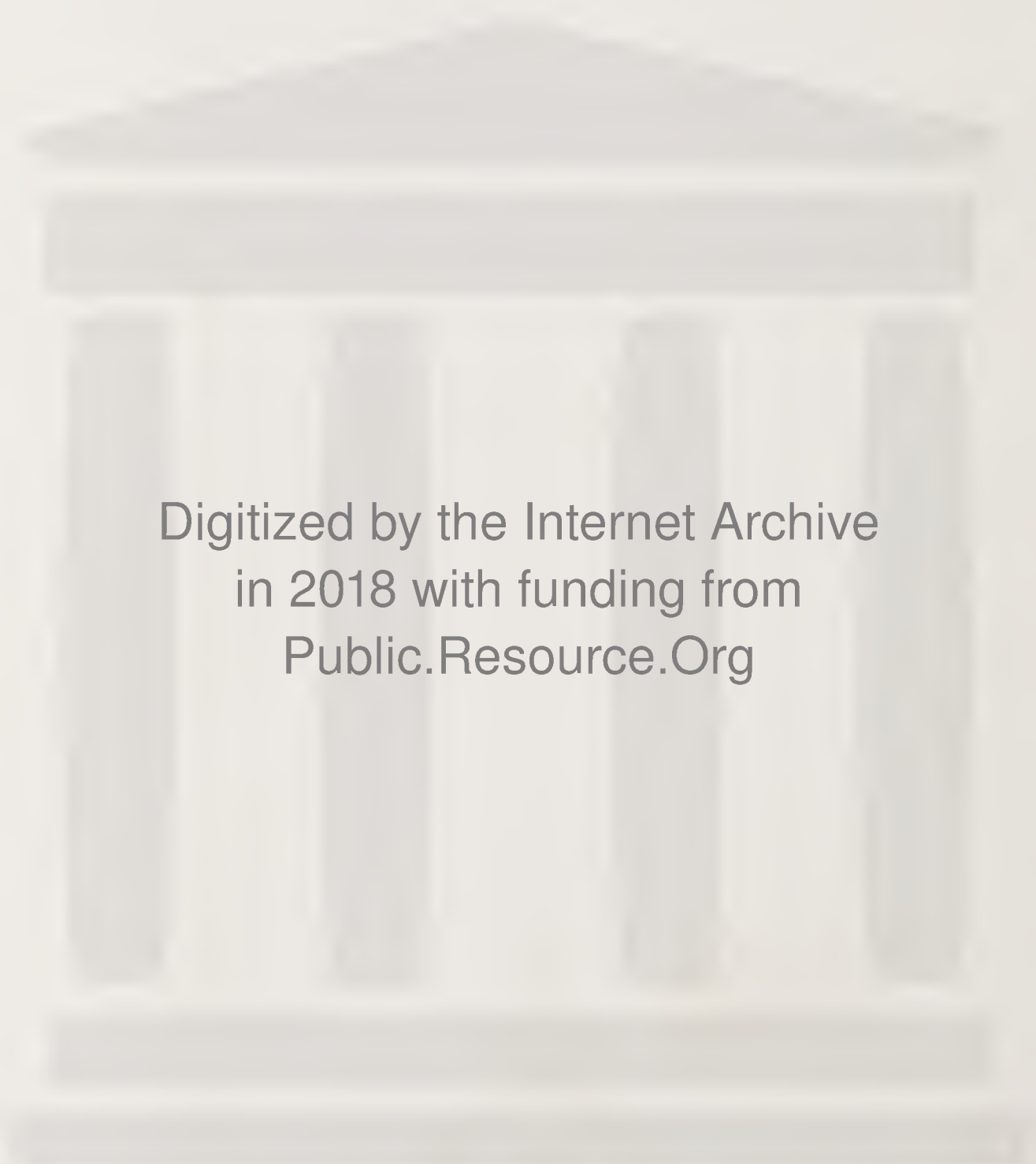


ONKAR PRASAD

folk music
and
folk dances
of
BANARAS





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FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS

ONKAR PRASAD



**ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS

Foreword

With an unusually rich living heritage of *Desi* (tribal and folk) and *Marga* (classical) traditions, the Indian sub-continent provides an almost unlimited field for ethno-musicological studies. Unfortunately, ethno-musicology is not yet systematically taught in any University Department in India. This field remains yet to be explored by scholars who have rigorous formal training in cultural anthropology and have also gained training in music on their own initiative. Shri Onkar Prasad belongs to that very rare species of interdisciplinary combination in our country.

When he joined the Anthropological Survey of India in 1975 as a Research Fellow, Onkar Prasad had already done some field work on music and dance of the Munda tribe of Ranchi for his M.A. dissertation at Ranchi University. He also had extensive exposure to the cultural configuration of Banaras as a participant in an ICSSR project on "Sacred Complex at Kasi" under the guidance of Dr. Baidyanath Saraswati. While working at Banaras, Shri Prasad became interested in the pattern of interaction between ethnic based folk traditions and classical musical traditions of Banaras. When he joined the Anthropological Survey of India as a Research Fellow, Shri Prasad carried out an intensive study on the folk musical traditions in the city of Banaras.

Musical notes provide precisely definable elements for the study of culture and Shri Onkar Prasad made a very effective and imaginative entry into the arena of Indian civilisation through the study of musical cultures in the total ethnographic context. Before taking up the project, Shri Prasad fully equipped himself with carefully reading the available anthropological literature in ethno-musicology. His enquiry covers the entire range of *Laukic* (folk), *Shastric* (classical), *Upa-shastric* (semi-classical) and modern film musical songs co-existing in the city of Banaras.

Readers of this monograph will be impressed by the clarity of conceptualisation of the research problem. The methods of field enquiry have also been precisely stated in the introductory chapter. The institutional context of the *Laukic* musical forms and the roles of specialists have been brought clearly into relief. The melodic structures of the various forms of *Kajri* and *Birha* folk traditions have been rigorously analysed in chapters six and seven where one observes a trend of universalisation from simpler folk forms and also the impact of classical songs on the folk forms.

A comparative study of the *Nautch* forms and *Nakals* displayed

by males and females provide us with an understanding of the problem of the 'private' versus the 'public' arenas and of role-reversal between the sexes.

Unlike tribal music where there is hardly any role for specialist or consideration of "excellence" in performance, the *Laukic* tradition of music in Banaras is carried from generation to generation through the formal institutional organisation of *Gharana* through *guru-shishya parampara* while maintaining the ethnic base. The data also indicate that the hierarchical norms in *Varna-jati* social order is also reflected in the exposition of musical forms.

Dr. Onkar Prasad finally observes that as one probes deeply into the latent level of musical culture of the *Laukic* forms, a commonly shared musical tradition of Banaras emerges as a unified field cutting across the dichotomies of the *Laukic* and the *Shastric* levels.

It was indeed a great pleasure and privilege to be associated with Shri Onkar Prasad as he gradually probed into the domain of *Laukic* music in the complex arena of Banaras with imaginatively improvised tools of field enquiry and analysis of data. As a student of social and cultural organisation of Indian civilisation, I consider this monograph to be a very significant contribution in the field. I hope it will stimulate other scholars to take up ethno-musicological studies among other groups and regions in India with the same rigour of theoretical and methodological preparation that Dr. Onkar Prasad has exhibited in his pioneering doctoral dissertation.

Surajit C. Sinha

Director

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

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The present anthropological study of folk music and folk dances of Banaras is the outcome of the guidance of Dr. S. C. Sinha, former Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. I owe a debt of deep gratitude for his ever ready interest and close guidance to me in all stages of the work.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the encouragement I have received from Dr. (Mrs.) Purnima Sinha (Scientist, Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta), Dr. B. N. Saraswati (Visiting Professor in Anthropology, NEHU, Shillong), Dr. Dineshwar Prasad (Professor in Hindi, Ranchi University, Ranchi), Dr. M. K. A. Siddiqui (Anthropologist, An. S. I., Calcutta), Pandit Rajeshwar Acharya (Lecturer in Music, Gorakhpur University, Gorakhpur) and Dr. Francis Shepherd (Ethnomusicologist, U. S. A).

I am equally indebted to the informants of Banaras for their help during the field work.

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Last but not least I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, for financial support.

Contents

| | |
|---|-------|
| <i>Foreword</i> | v |
| <i>Acknowledgement</i> | vii |
| <i>List of Illustrations</i> | xi |
| CHAPTER I | |
| Introduction | 1—8 |
| CHAPTER II | |
| Contemporary Indian Music : A classification with special reference to the field of Banaras | 9—24 |
| Earlier Classifications-9; Laukic Music-14; Para Music-15; Aparas or Shastric Music-15; Up-shastric Music-15; Film Music-16; Classifications of Laukic Music-16; Classification of Shastric Music-20; Summary-23. | |
| CHAPTER III | |
| Institutional Context of the Laukic Music | 25—36 |
| Gharana-25; The Structural Feature of Gharanas in the Laukic Music-27; Gharanas and Inter-ethnic Interaction-29; Guru-shishya Parampara-31; Mode of Learning the Laukic Music-32; Guru-shishya Relationship and Gupta-Vidya-33; Summary-35. | |
| CHAPTER IV | |
| Specialists in the Laukic Music | 37—46 |
| Concept of Specialization-37; The Specialist-39; Composer-performer Relationship-42; Status of Performers in Society-42; Place of the Laukic Music in the Life of Performers-44; Summary-45. | |
| CHAPTER V | |
| Vadyas of Banaras | 47—65 |
| Huduk-47; Jori-51; Mridang-51; Dholak-60; Discussion-61; Summary-63. | |

CHAPTER VI

Kajri Geet 66—93

Dhunmuniya-68; The Kajri-proper-71; The Shayri
Kajri-78; Discussion-87; Summary-89.

CHAPTER VII

Birha Geet 94—109

The Ahirau Birha-95; The Dhobiau Birha-99;
The Khatikau Birha-102; Discussion-105;
Summary-107.

CHAPTER VIII

The Nautch and the Nakal 110—129

The Nautch-110; The Nakal-115; Discussion-125;
Summary-128.

CHAPTER IX

Excellence : Its identification and presentation 130—138

Summary—137

CHAPTER X

Conclusion 139—143**BIBLIOGRAPHY** 144—146

APPENDIX—I

Glossary 147—158

APPENDIX—II

Kajri Charkhana Chitra Shishapalat 159—160

APPENDIX—III

Kursinama (Genealogy) 161—165

Charts—16a ; 19 ; 90-91 ; 108.

Graphs—*Vide* at the end.

List of Illustrations

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Fig. 1—Sketch of Huduk | 48 |
| Fig. 2—A posture of handling Huduk | 48 |
| Fig. 3—Sketch of Mridang | 52 |
| Fig. 4—Sketch of Nakkara | 55 |
| Fig. 5—Drummer holding <i>chop</i> for beating Nakkara | 55 |
| Fig. 6—Sketch of Dholak | 60 |
| Fig. 7—A scene of the <i>ratjaga</i> dance | 112 |
| Fig. 8— <i>Kubari</i> (wooden phallus) used in the performance of the <i>Dhobiau</i> and <i>Kahrau</i> dance | 112 |
| Fig. 9—Joker holding wooden phallus—a sex posture | 116 |
| Fig. 10—A Joker representing a Muslim priest | 116 |

Introduction

I

This dissertation aims at a contribution to anthropological study of Indian civilization through the study of music. Music offers a special advantage in cultural studies because its units in terms of notes and beats may be precisely indentified and measured and by its nature it expresses the deeper creative aspirations and capabilities of a people. Music also provides special scope for an understanding of the process of transmission of knowledge and the pattern of pursuit of excellence in a culture. The study of music may, thus, give a special access to the core of a culture and a civilization.

An interest to utilize the domain of music for gaining an understanding of the social and cultural structure of Indian civilization, grew out of my association with a project on "Sacred complex at Kashi" sponsored by the ICSSR in which I was working directly under the guidance of Dr. Baidyanath Saraswati who had already been carrying on extensive study on the cultural traditions of Banaras (Saraswati, 1975 & 1976). I had already done some fieldwork on music and dance of the Munda tribe of Ranchi for my post-graduate dissertation (Prasad, 1972). In Banaras, while collecting data on the 'Cult of the Shmashan' (cremation ground) at Manikarnika Ghat during 1972-73, I also came to know something about the folk musical traditions of Banaras. Co-existence of ethnic based folk traditions and interaction between folk and classical levels intrigued me. Later on, with the support of a fellowship from the Anthropological Survey of India, I was able to carry out intensive study on the folk musical traditions in Banaras during 1975-76 and 1976-77. I selected a study of the major song/dance forms of Banaras as the subject of my enquiry. In this ancient sacred city, folk and classical traditions have been in interaction over the millenia, as we know from the earlier records available to us. It was felt that this city would provide unique scope for a proper study of folk musical tradition in the larger context of Indian civilization. But before we come to the real problem some characteristics of Indian civilization that are relevant to the present subject of enquiry may be briefly discussed.

Indian civilization has been conceived by some scholars, as a primary or indigeneous civilization. It is ascertained that it has developed through

“orthogenetic” process bringing the element of the “little tradition” or local culture of the village folk into the systematic, abstract and reflective dimensions of the “great tradition” of the literati. In such a case the great tradition becomes the core of the primary civilization and serves as a standard for identity for those who share it as members of a common civilization. The little traditions mutually interact with the great tradition through the process of universalization (of little traditions) and parochialization (of great tradition) leaving a “residual” category which is not subjected to the two way process (Redfield and Singer 1954, Marriott 1955, Redfield 1956.)

The Indian civilization has also been characterised as “homo-hierarchical” where there is a hierarchical binary opposition of pure and impure, corresponding to the hierarchical division of the *varna* system (Dumont, 1970).

Persistence of ethnic or caste traditions in spite of prolonged interaction and interdependence has also attracted the attention of many scholars. Bose has particularly emphasized this phenomenon of cultural autonomy in the caste systems (1951) and Barth has discussed the process of boundary maintenance through accentuation of a limited set of cultural traits (1969).

Indian civilization, may, thus be identified in terms of a characteristic dynamic equilibrium between diversities of ethnic traditions and the universalized textual or classical dimension, where the principle of hierarchy underlies the overall organization of culture. In the study of the complex interplay of the so called folk and classical musical cultures of Banaras we are interested in bringing into relief the details of the nature of social and cultural organization of Indian civilization.

II

The importance of music as a part of culture is universally accepted. The study of music in appropriate social and cultural context provides scope for deeper understanding of the culture of a people. Although in the ethnographic reports from all over the world we do have some description of the musical aspects of culture, systematic anthropological study of music is a relatively recent development. Mention may be made here of the contributions of Brandel (1961), Kunst (1955), Kurath (1964), Lomax (1968), Merriam (1967), Nettl (1956), Slobin (1976) and others.

Brandel's main objective in her book *The music of Central Africa* (1961), has been to draw the musical style map of the songs prevalent in the area. Kunst's *Ethnomusicology* (1955) is a critical assessment of methodological problems on music developed by earlier scholars. He, in his book, discusses the problem of classifying the musical instruments in detail as prevalent in China, India and Europe.

Kurath's *Iroquois Music and Dance* (1964) is an ethnological and choreographic description of various musical and dance forms relating to agricultural, cure, hunt, war, rituals etc. of Iroquois tribe. In his book, he has shown how music crosscuts the boundary of sex of the moiety in ritual preparation and dance.

Lomax's *Folk Song Style and Culture* (1968) is based on the assumption that the song style symbolises and reinforces certain important aspects of social structure in all cultures. In this study, for instance, it was found that the singing styles of the African Pygmies and Bushmen apparently belonged to the same musical family, in spite of the fact that the two peoples were socially different, had lived in contrasting environments and had no known cultural connection for many centuries (p. 91). His "cantometrics" approach based on 37 parameters is a unique contribution to the field of anthropology for cross-cultural studies in music.

Merriam, in his book, *Ethnomusicology of Flathead Indians* (1967), has dealt with provenances of music, the problem of aesthetic and regionalism in the folk music of Flathead Indians.

Nettl's *Music in Primitive Culture* (1956) is a survey of the works done and the summary of the theories already formulated. In his work, he has discussed methods of research, techniques of primitive composition and native's judgement of "good" singers. He has also analysed and classified the traits of many different primitive styles, especially those of Africa and North America.

Slobin, in his book, *Music in the Culture of Northern Afghanistan* (1976), presents a brilliant analysis of Pathan's music and proves how music serves as a tool of ethnic boundary maintenance irrespective of their migration to several other places.

In traditional societies of India, the importance of music as a media of communication and presentation of culture is all the more significant. But very little attention appears to have been paid to this aspect of music. However, mention may be made of Bhattacharya (1968), Ray (1973), Sinha (1970), Vatsyayana (1976) and a few others.

Bhattacharya, in his book, *Ethnomusicology and India* (1968), has tried to show a correspondence between the level of socio-cultural development of different tribes and that of their music. He proposes that the study of tribal music may help in reconstructing the stages of early development of classical musical forms.

Ray's *Music of Eastern India* (1973) is a study of the traditional and modern folk songs of Assam, Bengal, Manipur and Orissa. In his book, he has taken special care of the songs of Bengal where he has tried to show how there is an emergence of new folk forms of music with the influence of the *raga* forms of music since the medieval to the

modern period. He, for instance, finds that the *pada kirtan* of Bengal is primarily based on the *prabandh geet*, etc.

Purnima Sinha, in her book, *An Approach to the Study of Indian Music* (1970), has analysed the musical forms of Brahabhum (in former Manbhum District of South Bihar) by using quantitative and graphic methods. She has laid much emphasis on the theme of "folk-classical continuum" and thus tried to demonstrate the continuity of music through the primitive, folk and classical forms. In the process she has very explicitly shown the development of music from the three note *sarhul* songs to seven note *kirtan* type *nachni* songs sung by specialists of the area.

Vatsyayana, in her book, *Traditions of Indian Folk Dance* (1976), has presented the variegated picture of the distinctive folk dance forms prevalent in different parts of India. She has also drawn attention to the vital links between the folk and the classical traditions on the one hand and to its socio-cultural significance on the other hand.

In recent years, some American anthropologists have also shown their interest in ethnomusicological studies on aspects of Indian musical culture. Mention may be made of Higgins (1976), Neuman (1976), Silver (1976) and others.

Higgins, in his article, *From Prince to Populace : Patronage as a Determinant of Change in South (Karnatak) Music* (1976), points out how the changes in the patronage of Indian music in South India have brought in some changes in the social organization of musical performances. Earlier the performance were held in the court but now in the public and from prince to the populace (p-21).

Neuman, in his article, *Towards an Ethnomusicology of Culture Change in Asia* (1976), which is based on review of a number of papers, highlights certain general themes for the proper understanding of the ethnomusicology of the culture change. He finds that : (1) music is reflective of the cultural whole in which it is found (2) music constitutes a commentary on a culture and (3) the changes in the musical system are the results of changes in the socio-cultural conditions to which a music must respond, (pp. 1-2).

Silver, in his article, *On becoming an Ustad : Six life sketches in the Evolution of a Gharānā* (1976), has explored how the strategies of the professional musician have changed with the abolition of the courts in the North India.

Although the works done by Bhattacharya, Ray, Sinha and Vatsyayana have great relevance to an understanding of folk classical traditions of Indian music, these do not represent comprehensive anthropological approach to the study of the folk music in total social and cultural context. The recent work of the American ethno-musicologists also do not adequately cover the field of folk and tribal music.

Moreover, the field situation in which Bhattacharya (*ibid*) and Sinha (*ibid*) have worked is relatively of a simpler nature but the field situation in Banaras is very complex in which the conventional dichotomy of the folk and classical are transgressed through continuous interpenetration, in an urban situation of great antiquity.

III

Our main task, in the present study, is to cover the whole range of ethnographic context of music, not merely the purely musical aspect. It is assumed that a systematic study of music, in the total societal and cultural context, will provide special insights. This will help in understanding the pattern and the process of persistence of the cultural tradition, the nature of social segmentation and hierarchy, the process of interaction between the folk and the classical tradition, regional and ethnic features in musical forms and lastly, the process of pursuit of excellence.

The following aspects are covered in different chapters of the present study.

In the second chapter, I have given a classification of the various musical traditions observed in the field situation of Banaras. Four classes have been identified. These are *laukic* (folk) *shastric* (classical) *up-shastric* (semi-classical) and film.

In the third chapter, I have described the modes of persistence of the folk musical traditions in the context of *gharānā* (traditional school of music learning)—‘*guru-shishya parampara*’ (master-disciple relationship) and their ethnic base.

In the fourth chapter, the nature of roles and status of specialists in the various musical traditions have been discussed. It has been observed that the dominant model of birth ascribed status, so characteristic of the caste system, is often transgressed through individual achievement. This brings into relief the flexibilities in the apparently rigid hierarchic structure of Indian civilization.

In the fifth chapter, there are detailed descriptions of the musical instruments and rhythmic patterns in the specific context of ethnic groups. Although the folk instrumentalists, particularly those dealing with percussion instruments using cow-hides are assigned a very low status, their instruments have a high cultural status on account of producing sacred sounds. Here, again, the usual barrier of pollution is crossed in the field of music. From the analysis of rhythmic pattern a trend of evolutionary continuity from simple rhythms to complex classical rhythms was observed.

In chapters six and seven, the melodic structure of the various forms of *kajri* and *birha* folk traditions have been analysed. Here again, there

is a trend of universalization of simpler folk forms. There are also indications of the impact of classical forms over the folk forms.

In chapter eight, I have described a dimension of *Banarasi* musical culture in which there are specific forms for males and females.

A culture that sustains a musical tradition has its own standard of excellence and its own way of pursuing and exhibiting it. This aspect has been discussed in chapter nine.

Thus an analysis of the above mentioned aspects of the musical tradition in Banaras enabled us to demonstrate the nature of continuity and persistence of Indian civilization and to bring home to us the fact that a fresh approach is needed for providing a proper understanding of Indian civilization beyond the dichotomy of folk and urban, folk and classical and purity and pollution.

The above analyses rest on the following hypotheses :

(1) That persistence of folk tradition in the sphere of music is carried through a special organization of transmission of tradition.

(2) That the musical traditions of Banaras broadly reflect the hierarchic and segmentary nature of Indian civilization and its unique pattern of integration.

(3) That adaptive flexibilities may be observed in the musical tradition which accommodates achieved status along with the general birth prescribed social orientation.

(4) That there is a continuity in the form of folk and classical melodic forms indicating a trend of universalization.

(5) That it is also possible to identify the reverse process of transformation viz., that of classical forms reduced or adjusted into folk forms.

(6) That in each of the above two processes of parochialization and universalization there is a tendency to preserve the core of the respective classical and folk levels.

(7) That there is a correspondence between change in melodic structure and change in the social and cultural context of music.

IV

Methods of Enquiry

For the purpose of our research, the universe of enquiry was defined as folk musical traditions in the municipal area of Banaras. But it was obvious that the social arena was not strictly coterminous with the municipal boundary. It was also apparent that it would be impossible to make a complete survey of all the musical forms of the entire population in the city. My initial difficulty was also to select a manageable area of enquiry which involved a study of the performers as well as listeners.

On my first visit to Banaras, in order to contact the articulate and

specialized informants, I started participating in a number of musical performances organized by the local people. After I was able to establish rapport with them, I started interviewing them at random. But it was soon found that some of the informants, including those in the audience and also the performers, were unable to give detailed technical information on musical culture.

While collecting data from the specialists, the emphasis was given on recording their verbatim statements which could help in identifying certain "emic" categories or expressions which have no parallel in English language. Case-studies of some of the informants were of great importance while analysing the data. It was realized that a specialist in music should be studied in the total context of his performance.

It was worthwhile to observe his behaviour towards his listeners and his style of presentation and also to note his cause of reputation and his attitude towards another specialist. Listener's attitude towards specialists, with respect to time and certain outside influence on musical culture etc. were also noted. These explanations helped us in identifying certain parameters both for the judgement of specialists and excellence in a culture.

Genealogical method helped us in understanding the nature of relationship between the teacher and his disciple, level of inter-ethnic interaction, educational background of performers and composers and so on. The information on educational background (not only formal but also informal) helped in assessing the extent to which the literati have intruded in the field of the folk music.

Musical notations of the songs recorded were prepared in the field. The data on musical instruments were collected on the basis of a questionnaire already framed by Simha Arom (1971). Rhythms of the musical instruments were also transcribed either with the help of the performers or the taborist (exclusively in case of the Nakkara). The data on dance and dance-dramas were collected on the basis of non-participant observation. The texts of the dramas were recorded. Some of the photographs were also taken for elucidation. The materials from texts have been collected both from the primary and the secondary sources.

Problems Faced in the Field

Music, in Banaras today, both classical and folk, has a commercial base. Performers of music are often hired on contract basis. As a result, they have assumed a commercial orientation. They always try to squeeze money from those who go for collecting information as they usually do with the foreign investigators. This is a great problem for a researcher who has a limited fund at his disposal. To avoid this problem, I had to convince them referring myself as a student rather than a low paid

employee. While collecting information, majority of the performers were found boasting of their knowledge and were inclined to give the impression that the details they had given, nobody else would be able to provide. In such cases, I had to be cautious about making any sort of comment which might hurt their feelings.

The society, particularly in North India, is conspicuously dichotomised and segregated on the basis of sex. In such a society it was difficult to collect information from females. Somehow, after establishing rapport with highly respected persons of the area, only once I was able to observe the exclusive musical performance of the females where they generally do not allow even the male members of their family.

Methods of Analysis of Musical Forms

The methods employed for analysing the ethnographic data have already been discussed in earlier pages. Here, I will discuss the method which has been employed in analysing the musical notations in the present work.

A musical notation can be analysed through graphical method as employed by Sinha (1970) in her book, *An Approach to the Study of Indian Music*. This method appears convincing from the anthropological point of view as it does not violate the specific cultural norms of a musical tradition. In this method, the successive arrangement of notes employed in a particular musical design are plotted against the musical beats. In such a method, one can visualize the movement of notes, and can locate the starting, ending, durational note (a note on which a singer pauses for a long time) and repetitive note (a note which is preferred again and again). Clusters of notes formed in pairs, triplets and quadruplets and also notes avoided in ascending or descending order etc. in a musical design are observed. These are the factors on the basis of which one musical design can be differentiated from others. All these also help in showing the relationship of the folk forms with that of the classical forms of music. Moreover, in the present analysis, an emphasis has also been laid on 'hearing vision' in order to show the relationship between the folk song and the classical melodic pattern.

The graph along with the chart, showing all these factors in a tabular form, gives a total as well as a comparative picture of the various musical designs.

Contemporary Indian Music : A classification with special reference to the field of Banaras

Classification is the basis of the natural as well as the social sciences. But human societies which the social scientists deal with, are so complex and varied that unlike in the natural sciences, it is difficult to group them under universal categories applicable to different cultures and civilizations. Music being a product of the human society is supposed to operate within the same limitation. Thus the present chapter aims at giving a particularistic view of different categories of music in its contextual frame of reference.

Much has been written on classical music in India and there has always been an attempt at its comprehensive classification either in terms of its stylistic features or structural characteristics or its movement patterns. Unfortunately, the musicologists in India, neither the ancient textual scholars nor the modern exponents, have hardly taken trouble to deal with the nature of the so-called folk as well as the tribal music, which have always run parallel to the classical trend, considering the former as "inferior-type" of music. They found little relevance in analysing or categorising them for the purpose of understanding the classical forms. There are, however, enough evidences in musical texts to prove that folk and tribal melodic motifs have been utilized in building up classical *raga* (melodic pattern). Bharat and Matanga have mentioned many *ragas* of Indian music which bear the names of ancient Indian tribes. For instance *andhari* is the name of a musical structure mentioned by Bharat and Dattila but Andh is the name of a scheduled tribe of India living in the states of Andhra and M.P. (Bhattacharya, 1970 : 139).

Earlier Classifications

In a recent publication, Bhattacharya (1968) has placed the whole corpus of "modern Indian music" under three broad categories : (1) "uncultivated music" (2) "cultivated music", and (3) an intermediary category "cultivated folk music". He further divides the "uncultivated music" into two broad categories "tribal or primitive music" and "folk music". Under the "cultivated music" he places the two running trends the "North Indian classical music" and the "South Indian classical music" and

lastly under the "cultivated folk music" he places "pseudo-folk music" (broadcasted by A.I.R.), *bhajan*, *kirtan* (devotional songs) etc. (Bhattacharya, 1968 : 26). Besides, he associates the classical music with "high cultures" accepting the folk music as a part of this but current among the "unsophisticated rural people" (*ibid* : 15) and the tribal music or primitive music belonging to "simple and unsophisticated cultures that have no writing and are not directly associated with any high culture" (*ibid* : 24).

In his classification of Indian music the author should have used the term "contemporary" in place of "modern". The terms "uncultivated" and "cultivated" also sound value loaded. Can the tribal music be regarded as "uncultivated"? Do tribes lack in the processes involved in cultivation? Do not the literatis have folk tradition? Has not there been a direct and continuous association of folk culture of the caste society with its literatis? All these terms like "cultivated", "uncultivated", "civilized", "preliterate", "non-literate", "primitive", etc. are value-loaded, carrying debased meaning and showing superiority of one musical culture over another. Therefore, to associate any musical tradition with "high culture" or "unsophisticated culture" does not carry any reliable meaning.

Even to speak of music belonging to the "unlettered mass" or to the "lettered mass" does not hold true in the Indian situation because, "...the distinction between literate and non-literate has never been a limiting factor in Indian cultural traditions in the western sense. The tradition of the unlettered people has been as rich in content as that of men of letters, they have been freely exchanging among themselves ideas and traditions. It is wholly incorrect to say that the unlettered of the village communities in India did not produce philosophers and theologians. Almost all the founding fathers of Indian philosophy and all the Acharyas came from villages. There have been numerous unlettered saints, the example is of non-literate Kabir — the philosopher poet and the founder of a large sect. Kabir preached orally, in the language of the people of the so-called 'little' tradition in the city of the 'great' tradition. He established the dignity of true knowledge. Even in Indian classical tradition, literacy has never been emphasized beyond a certain point. For, in Hindu philosophy language fails to communicate the *Brahmajnana* ...the supreme knowledge, the knowledge of the Absolute. And hence, even the most learned textual scholar, versed in the *Vedas* and the *Upanishadas*, sits at the feet of an illiterate *Sadhu*, his *guru*". (Saraswati, 1976 : 27).

This fact remains true for almost every realm of learning in India. There are many musicians who are illiterate but are the great virtuoso of Indian classical music. For instance, in our time, Pandit Shamta Prasad *alias*

Godai Maharaj of Banaras is a well-reputed Tabla player though he is illiterate. Many of the folk singers known personally to me have earned a great reputation in the field of the *shayri kajri* (a variety of *kajri*) but they are illiterate. Many of the founders of *kajri gharanas* (traditional school of music learning), such as, Baffat, Jahangir, Buddhramji of Mirzapur and others have thousands of disciples, both highly literate and illiterate, but they themselves were illiterate. Still their literate disciples are deeply impressed both by the content and style of their compositions. However, a distinction can be drawn between a whole society in the stage of pre-literacy and a part of the society in the stage of illiteracy which forms a part of the larger society that has a tradition of literacy. It further relates to the nature of segmentation of the society based on caste and ethnicity and the specialization of a small segment of the society in the art of literacy.

The folk music of a particular group or society has been characterised by anonymity, collectivism and oral transmission. But in the field of music the city of Banaras presents a very different picture and does not follow any one of the conventional parameters mentioned above in its strict sense. Let us take the examples of ethnic music (the music which is performed and shared within a particular ethnic group, such as, the *pachhuain* of Kahar, *birha* of Dhobi and so on) and non-ethnic music (the music which is performed and shared by a number of caste groups, such as, the *kajri*, etc.). The folk songs collected in the field of Banaras lead us to the observation that, although, there are a few compositions which do not bear the names of the composers (mostly the songs related to *rites-de-passage*) though, quite a substantial number of them carry the names of composers and their *gurus*. For instance, in case of songs rendered by an ethnic group, Kahar such names as Phakiran, Vishvanath, Naresh, Rambodh and others, have been found. In a *pachhuain* song of Kahar—

Kahelan phakiran suna e sundari

(Says Phakiran, listen, o beauty) or in a *sumirni* (a religious song sung in the beginning of a performance) of Kahar,

Rameshwar ab gyan batae Vishvanath rat dali

(Now Rameshwar communicates *gyan* (knowledge), Bishvanath has learnt by rote), the names of composers are evidently illustrative. In *dhobiau* songs (songs of Dhobi) such names as Binesari, Baffat and the like have frequently been found. For instance,

Kahen Binesari dui men kayan (says Binesari, which one of the two ?)

In case of the *shayri kajri* and the *shayri birha* (a variety of *birha* song) such names as Baffat, Bhairon, Badri, Kalidas, Lalta, Murlidhar, Onkarlal, Ramnath, Jahangir, Buddhu, Ramdas, Bihariguru, Pattuguru and the like are commonly found. This phenomenon, where a composer

leaves his 'impression' is locally termed as *chhap chhorna*, appears comparatively a recent one under the influence of the literary tradition as the so-called folk societies have always been by and large in close contact with literatis of the city. However, it helps the listeners to identify a singer to which *akhara* (group) he belongs to and who has composed a particular composition. A number of such examples may be cited to prove that the composers hardly use pseudonymn. So far it is observed that the composers of song-poems have never been found to claim their authorship over musical tunes. Any member of any *akhara* may exploit the tunes of others, but not the poems. Thus, tonally the folk music may be said to be anonymous.

The idea that the folk music is composed communally or has evolved from the collective thought of the masses, has not found acceptance either in folklore or in anthropology (Nettl, 1956 : 12). A number of examples may also be given from the field of Banaras in support of this view. For instance, Vishvanath Kahar (60 years old), when asked, accepted that his compositions are exclusively of his own and are the product of his personal experiences. Citing an example, he told that once he was highly shocked at the death of his elder brother, Ganesh. The day he cremated his brother, he composed a *nirgun* (death) song in his memory.

However, the view, that the folk music is a "communal recreation" in which a song-text once traditionalized is improvised again and again either because of general aesthetic or cultural conditions, is still persisting (*ibid* : 13-14). But in a recent study on the oral epic *lorki* or *chanaini* (a type of ballad) of Banaras it has strikingly been observed that the performers of *lorki* do not have the same style of singing. In reality, the styles of any two singers have been found totally dissimilar even though they are from the same area or their teacher is the same (Pandey, 1976 : 15). Thus this observation leads us to think that the folk music is not only created but also re-created individually.

Further, there has been a growing consciousness among composers of Banaras that the version of their composition should not be altered. Not only that, a composer of a particular music-performing group is so conservative and group-centric that if he finds a person from another group using his composition, the person concerned will be punished in some ways.

The last criterion of folk music *i.e.*, oral transmission used in the western sense is to be totally ruled out in the Indian situation. In the west, the classical music has always been transmitted through musical literature because of having a developed notation system but the folk music has been transmitted orally. In India whether it be a folk or a classical music, all are oral and aural. The classical music has always been a *gurumukhi vidya* (a knowledge orally transmitted by a teacher).

Not only music but also the "source books" of the Hindu culture ; such as, the *Vedas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and so on have been preserved through oral mode of transmission for a long period before they were textualized.

Maurice Bloomfield in his intensive study of '*Rigveda Repetitions*' has shown that approximately one fifth of the lines of the *Rigveda* are constantly repeated. Two other works which bear very patently the marks of oral composition and recitation are the two great epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Emeneau has also observed : "We are told in the *Mahābhārata* itself that its length is not always the same (Book 1, adhyāya 1) and that the text as we have it is the third recitation in a succession of famous recitations of different lengths. This oral characteristic did not come to an end even after the *Mahābhārata* was written down". As observed by him, the *Mahabharata* is a melange of several different genres of oral poetry. Almost in all the Indian languages the oldest literatures are either refined folktales or poetical folk songs (Subramanian, 1972 : 10). But even if those two traditions, folk and classical, are oral, the former is transmitted orally with uncoded rule, and the latter with codified rule.

Besides, in the western sense, the folk music is almost a separate system from that of the classical music but in India, these two systems of music are co-ordinates of an Indian musical tradition and at a level it is almost impossible to differentiate these two.

"It has so happened that with the development of harmony the classical music of the west for the past few centuries has become so different from their own folk music that the latter is almost a separate system. But not so in India. The difference between tribal or folk and concert music is a matter of grammatization, not of dimension. The snake charmer's tune on the mahudi becomes raga Punnagvarali, the simple ovi-s of Maharashtra are the nuclei of highly developed raga-s.

Somewhere between the two extremes of gradation, lie many regional musics with more or less strict grammar" (Chaitanyadev, 1974 : 80).

Thus from the discussions made above it may be realised that the folk and the classical musics may not be put in a water-tight compartment in the western sense in the Indian situation. Therefore, in order to classify the musical tradition of India such terms and parameters are required which are cognitive and cogent but pervasive and applicable to the wider realm of the Indian cultural tradition.

As observed by Saraswati (1975)—

"In Indian civilization.....there are three modes of transmission of knowledge, viz. (1) the oral-observational mode followed in *Laukic Vidya*, (2) the transcendental mode adopted in *Para Vidya*, and (3) the textual mode employed in *Apara Vidya*. *Laukik Vidya* is the verbal

knowledge of the people (*Lokeshu*), continually transmitted from one generation to the next by direct oral-observational method. According to the Brahmanic scriptures, this is the uncoded, unrecorded or non-textualized knowledge of arts and crafts which the sudras and women possess. *Para Vidya* is that knowledge through which "ultimate reality" is known. Although, such knowledge of the transcendental has been textualized and discussed in the scriptures in great length, it has been conceded that in the pursuit of *Para Vidya* one transcends all normal knowledge and human experiences, and that its experimental knowledge can not be actually communicated to others through human language. All other textualized knowledge may be distinguished as *Apara Vidya*" (Saraswati 1975 : 103).

To him, these three modes of transmission of *vidyas* have in fact shaped three distinct cultural traditions in Indian civilization. Thus all the varieties of Indian cultural traditions may be grouped under three main types (1) oral cultural tradition (*laukic sanskriti*), (2) transcendental cultural tradition (*para sanskriti*), and (3) textual cultural tradition (*apara sanskriti*) (*ibid* : 104).

The parameters suggested by Saraswati to classify the three distinct cultural traditions — *laukic*, *para* and *apara* on the basis of the three distinct modes of transmission of *vidyas* do not appear applicable to the field of music — a *vidya*, prevalent in Banaras in particular and in India in general. In India whether it be a *laukic*, *para* or *apara* music, each has an oral-aural tradition. However, this can not be ignored that the *apara* music was based on text to a considerable extent before the medieval period. But after the advent of the Muslims in India, their intrusion in the field of the *apara music* (*shastric music*) and their ignorance of the textual rules to be followed for presentation created a big gap between theory and practice of music was created. Muslims learning the *shastric* music showed indifference to the textual rules to be followed for its presentation. As a result "music in practice" became different from "music in theory". The same trend is being followed by a large number of *gharana* oriented musicians for whom it is a "headache" to talk about the text based theory as they are totally ignorant of it. However, in recent times, both the musicologists and the musicians of music colleges and schools are trying to synthesize the two strands of the *shastric* music.

Therefore, in the present discussion of the distinct musical traditions of the Indian civilization we shall take into account, the process of codification as a distinguishing factor rather than the mere mode of transmission of the *vidyas*.

Laukic Music

The music which is devoid of any "codified law" is the *laukic music*

(an adjective made from a popularly used term, *lok*), of the *laukic* tradition. It is close to the immediately visible world in the natural ecology. It is more or less a conventionally patterned art whose appreciation and understanding are mainly confined to a distinct cultural group. It is an art of the "non-reflectives". This type of music, in brief, is characterised by the dominance of the socio-fact and lesser degree of technicality. Here, by the dominance of socio-fact means that the *laukic* music has a close contact with human existence, *i.e.*, with immediately visible world in the natural ecology.

Para Music

The transcendental music, *para*, is commonly referred to as *margi* (a way) in musical literatures. It is said that it was cultivated by Brahma in the beginning and later on practised by Mahadev and Bharat (Pandit, 1971 : 12-14). The *margi* music has been a music of contemplation and thus means 'the attainment of liberation'. It was rendered in its purest form and its performance was governed by 'strictly codified laws' of musical presentation. It is said that it no more exists to-day.

Apara or Shastric Music

The *apara* or the *shastric* music is the one which is governed by the "codified law", *i.e.*, the *shastra*, meaning rule, science, etc. It is thus commonly known as the *shastriya samgeet*. A term *desi* has also been used for the same kind of music, because of its regional variation in the codified law of musical presentation. For instance, some *ragas* have a few notes different in different traditions. In *nayki kanada* some *gharanas* employ the scale $CDE^b FG A^b B^b$ but some omit A^b altogether (Chaitanyadev, 1974 : 61). The *shastric* music is a highly individualized art characterized by a higher degree of technicality, the product being highly systematic or ordered, technical and abstract in nature but the least degree of socio-fact because the word plays a negligible role in communicating the sentiment. In this kind of music, there is an elaboration of melodic theme rather than the word-theme. It is an art of the "reflective-few" as its intelligibility and appreciation are confined to a class of literatis or intelligentia. However, its appeal is said to be universal and consequently surpass boundaries of both the local and the regional cultures.

Up-Shastric Music

Now we can not ignore an intermediate category, *up-shastric* music emerging out of the assimilation of characters of the above two types—*laukic* and *shastric*, *i.e.*, the music belonging to this category is neither folk nor classical in true sense. In this type of music, the melodic theme

is not usually developed into *bistar* (elaboration) and *tan* (melodic figures), but the word theme is generally elaborated and improvisations on words is often done to explain the meaning more clearly (Sinha 1970 ; 49). It includes *thumri*, *shastriya kajri*, *shastriya chaita*, *trivat*, *chaturang*, *bhajan*, etc.

Film Music

In addition to the *laukic*, *shastric* and *up-shastric* music, there is a fourth type of music prevalent in Banaras-film-music. It is nothing but a symbiotic phenomenon based on the above mentioned three fundamental categories of Indian music and western music. The film music, the most popular form of music of the 20th century, may thus be regarded as a mixture of both the orthogenetic and heterogenetic process of civilization which may serve as a better means to understand the adaptive process in Indian civilization at the synchronic level. Now out of the four categories of Indian music, the first two need further classification. Let us deal with each of them, one by one.

Classifications of Laukic Music

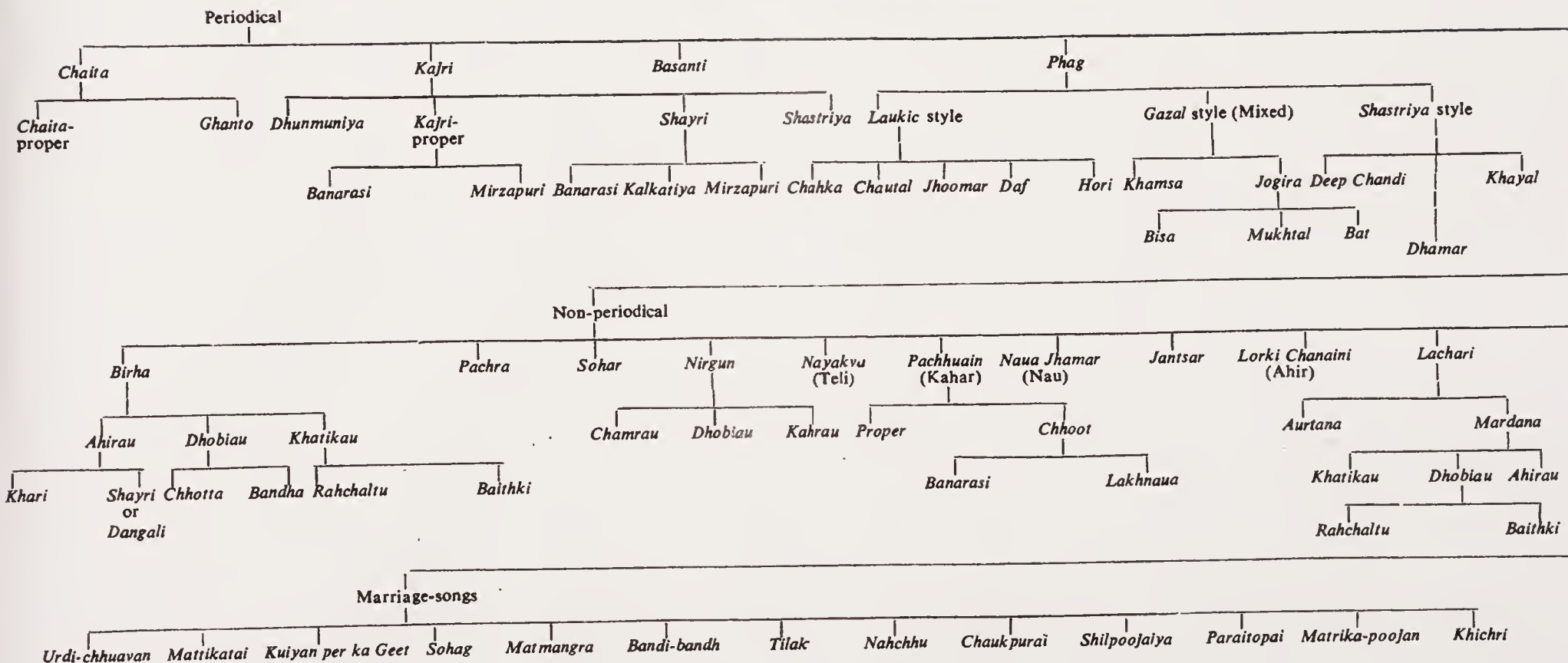
Auto-Classification

There may be several possible classifications of the *laukic* music based on different parameters. The *laukic* music of Banaras may be classified, depending on the parameters like caste, sex, season, context, etc. As suggested by a number of informants of Banaras concerning the association of different musical styles (*vide* chart I and II) with the life-cycle, a 'genderical classification' of music appears appropriate.

It has already been observed that there are certain occasions which are exclusively dominated by the female groups and the music related to those occasions are exclusively sung by them. To this kind of music they propose a category *janana samgeet* or *mehraru samgeet* (feminine music). Songs and dances related to the marriage ceremony, birth ceremony, etc. are examples of this category. Almost all songs related to a series of rituals are exclusively sung by the ladies such as songs of *urdi chhuavan* (a ritual of touching horse-bean), *tilak* (dowry), *dvarpoojaiya* (a ritual of worshipping the door), *maitripoojan* (a ritual of worshipping mother goddess), *shilpoojan* (a ritual of worshipping grinding stone) and *sohar* (a song type sung on the occasion of the birth of a child), and so on.

2. Many of the songs are exclusively sung by the male groups. To subsume these types of songs and dances, they suggest a category *mardana* or *mansedu samgeet* (masculine music). For instance, *alha* (a type of ballad), *nayakva* (a type of ballad), *ahirau birha* (a song type)

A classification of the Kashika* songs with special reference to Banaras



**Kashika* is a sub-division of the *Bhojpuri* dialect spoken in the districts of Banaras, Jaunpur and Mirzapur.

lorki (a type of ballad), etc. Most of these songs dwell on the themes of chivalry.

3. Besides these we may not ignore the fact that there are certain songs which are conventionally shared by both the sexes. These are *holi*, *chaita*, etc. To include these a third category, *ubhay samgeet* (common music) is proposed.

4. The fourth and the last category is the neuter music, i.e., of *hizra* (eunuchs), characterised by the typicalness of the performances.

However, no such categorisation exists for those who are professionals for they have to cover a number of occasions to earn money.

A Proposed Classification

On the basis of their styles and occasions all songs (see chart I) and dances (see chart II) may be grouped under two broad heads—'periodical' and 'non-periodical'. Periodical songs or dances are those whose performances are guided by 'cultural calender' which are common to all the people living in a culture or a group. This category includes *chaita*, *kajri* (song and also dance type), *basanti* (a song) and *phag* (a song type) which are performed in the months of *chait* (March-April), *shravan*, *bhadra* (June to October), *magh* (January-February) and *phalgun* (February-March) respectively.

Non-periodical songs or dances are those which are performed on various occasions without any time-restriction. This category includes the caste-songs and dances, such as, *lachari* (a song type), *jantsar* (a song type), marriage songs and so on.

Now let us discuss the classification of songs and dances included under proposed categories in brief, as shown in chart I and chart II respectively.

Periodical Songs

Chaita: It is mainly of two types—*chaita*-proper and *ghanto chaita* sung in the month of *chait* (March-April).

Kajri: It is of four types—*dhunmuniya*, *kajri*-proper, *shayri kajri* and *shastriya kajri*. *Kajri*-proper has its regional forms mainly named after Banaras and Mirzapur, such as, *Banarasi kajri* and *Mirzapuri kajri*.

Shayri kajri has also its regional forms such as *Banarasi shayri kajri*, *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* and *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* named after Banaras, Calcutta and Mirzapur respectively. All these forms of *kajri* are sung during the rainy season.

Basanti: It is of a single variety. It is sung during the spring season.

Phag: Stylistically, *phag* in Banaras has been found of three major types; *laukic*, *gazhal* (mixed) and *shastriya*. The *laukic* style of *phag* includes, *chautal*, *chahka*, *jhoomar*, *daf* and *hori*. The *shastriya phag*

is sung in *thumri*, *dhamar* and *khayal* styles. The *gazhal* style includes *khamisa* and *jogira* (Srivastava, 1965 : 13). *Jogira* is further classified into three—*bisa*, *mukhtal* and *bat* (Tiwari, 1965 : 120). All these forms of *phag* are sung in the month of *phalgun* (February-March).

Non-periodical Songs

Birha : *Birha* is a song genre sung on various occasions. It has a number of varieties mentioned as follows :

The Ahirau birha : The *Ahirau birha* is sung by the caste, Ahir. It is locally divided into two sub-categories—the *khari birha* and the *dangali birha*. The *khari birha* is duplex in form. The *dangali birha* has a number of lines. It is a popular variety mostly sung by the Ahirs though members of other castes and religions have also started singing it as a means to earn money.

The Dhobiau birha : The *Dhobiau birha* is sung by Dhobis. It has also two sub-categories—the *chhoota birha* and the *bandha birha*. The *chhoota birha* owes its name to its smallness of size. The *bandha birha* is larger in size. It is sung to the accompaniment of the Mridang.

The Khatikau birha : The *Khatikau birha* is sung by the caste, Khatik. It is also divided into two sub-categories—the *rahchaltu birha* and the *baithki birha*. The *rahchaltu birha* is sung while going to some place on foot. The *baithki birha* is sung while sitting.

Pachra : It is a song-type sung in praise of goddess *Maharani* (Durga, Sitala and so on). It is also known as *Maharani* song or *Sitala* song. It is sung on various auspicious occasions.

Lachari : It is a song-type sung on various occasions. It has three sub-types—*lachari*-proper, mostly sung by ladies, *Khatikau lachari* and *Dhobiau lachari* exclusively sung by the Khatik and the Dhobi respectively. *Dhobiau lachari* is further classified into two—*rahchaltu* and *baithki*.

Sohar : It is a song-type sung by ladies on the occasion of a child birth.

Shadi Ka Geet (marriage songs) : It has a number of varieties sung on the occasion of the marriage ceremony. Each variety of song is related to a particular ritual. For instance, *urdi-chuavan* (a ritual of digging the soil), *kuiyan per ka geet* (a song sung while performing a ritual on the well), *matmangra* (a ritual), *bandi-banda*, *tilak* (dowry), *nachhu* (cutting of nail), *chaukpurai* (to sit on a clean place), *shilpoojaiya* (worshipping of a grinding stone) *paraitopai* (covering of an earthen dish), *matrika poojan* (a ritual) and *khichri* (a song sung when the *barat* party (bride-groom's party) takes meal in the house of the bride).

Nirgun : It is a song sung usually after the death of an old person. It is of three types—*Chamarau nirgun*, *Dhobiau nirgun* and *Kahrau nirgun* sung by Chamars, Dhobis and Kahars, respectively.

Jantsar : It is an operational song sung while grinding wheat.

Lorki or *chanaini* : It is a ballad recited by the Ahir on any occasion.

Nayakva : It is a ballad recited by the Teli on any occasion.

Naua Jhamar : It is a form of song sung by the caste, Nau (barber) on any occasion.

Pachhuain : It is a song-type sung by Kahars. It is of two types—*pachhuain*-proper and *pachhuain chhoot* or *ranga*. The *pachhuain chhoot* is further divided into two in the name of different regions—*Banarasi chhoot* and *Lakhnaua chhoot*. All these of the *pachhuain* are sung on various occasions.

Now all the above mentioned forms of songs may be put in a chart I in the following manner :

Periodical Dance

Dhunmuniya : It is a song as well as a dance type performed by a group of ladies on the occasion of the *kajri* festival.

Non-periodical Dance

Ahirau : It is a dance-type performed to the beats of the Nakkara (a kind of musical instrument) by the Ahir on various occasions.

Chamrau : It is a dance type performed by the Chamars. It is similar to *Ahirau* dance.

Khatikau : This dance is similar to that of the Ahir and the chamar. It is performed by the Khatiks to the beats of the Nakkara.

Dhobiau : It is a dance type performed by the Dhobis to the accompaniment of the *vadya* (musical instrument) Pakhavaj.

Domre : It is a dance of the caste, Dom.

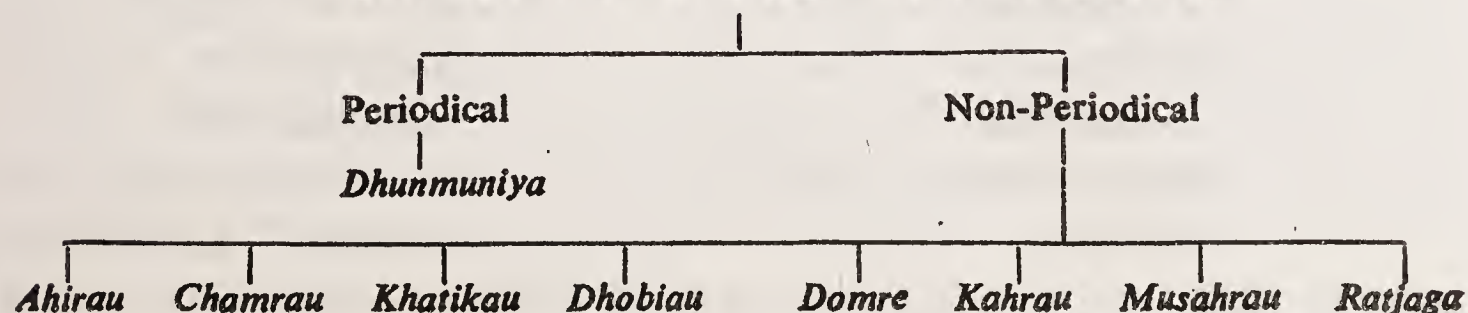
Kahrau : It is a dance of the Kahar performed to the beats of the *vadya*, Huduk.

Musaharu : It is a dance of Musahars performed to the beats of the *vadya*, Huduk.

Ratjaga : The dance performed by a group of ladies at night on any auspicious occasion is known as *ratjaga*. This dance is accompanied by the *vadya*, *Dholak*.

All the said types of dances may be put in the Chart II in the following manner :

A Classification of the Laukic dance of Banaras



Classification of Shastric Music

The *Shastric* music of India as practised to-day has been classified into two classes—the North Indian music and the South Indian music. A term “Hindustani music” for the North Indian music has frequently been used by westerners. In fact, does the term Hindustan stand for North India alone? Does the music of North India represent Hindustan? No such term appears to be prevalent before the 19th century and, in fact, is a misnomer.

The basic difference between the North Indian and the South Indian music is characterised by the use of *svaras* (musical notes). The *komal svaras* (flat notes) of the North Indian music are the *suddha svaras* (natural notes) of the South Indian music and ‘vice-versa’. The South Indian music is characterised by the frequent use of the *kampita svaras* (vibrating notes) whereas that of the North Indian music by the occasional use of it for the sake of embellishment.

A Classification of Genera Scales of Ragas

As the researcher is little acquainted with the South Indian music, he will be dealing with the possible classification made of the North Indian music only in different perspectives of it, such as, genera, style of music, etc. At first, let us deal with the groupings of different *ragas*. In the North Indian music, the categorisation of a series of *ragas* based on the *that paddhati*—fundamental modes—founded on an arbitrary ascending and descending order of the notes, appears to be more logical which is a well defined compartmentalization prescribed by a set of *svaras*. Each *that* in itself is a genera or from which innumerable *ragas* may be composed of. There are altogether ten *thats* concised by Bhatkhande (1951) out of seventy two *thats* current in South India, that were developed by Ramamatya, Govind Dixit and Vyankatmukhi during the 17th century. The ten *thats* concised by Bhatkhande are placed below :

Name of the that

Structure

Kalyan that

CDEF[#] GAB

Bilaval that

CDEFGAB

Khamaj that

CDEFGAB^b

Bhairav that

CD^bEFGA^bB

Purvi that

CD^bEF[#] GA^bB

Marva that

CD^bEF[#] GAB

Kafi that

CDE^bFGAB^b

Asavari that

CDE^bFGA^bB^b

Bhairavi that

CD^bE^bF GA^bB^b

Todi that

CD^bE^bF[#] GA^bB^b

(Bhatkhande, 1951 : 14-18)

Classification of Ragas according to the time of the day

Further, one way of grouping the *ragas* of North India is to base on the use of the *vadi* (sonant or dominant note) which is further categorised according to the period of time in a day on when they are sung. For instance, if a *svara* of *purvang*, the first half of the octave (CDEF) is the dominant one, the *raga* is said to be *purvang pradhan* and is sung between 9 A.M. and 3 P.M. When a *svara* of *uttarang*, the second half of the octave (GABC) is dominant, the *raga* is said to be *uttarang pradhan* and is sung between 9 P.M. and 3 A.M. But there is an intermediary category which is known as the *sandhiprakash* (F, F[#]). If the *suddha madhyam* (F) is a dominant note the *raga* is chiefly for 3 P.M. to 9 P.M. and if the *tivra madhyam* (F[#]) is a dominant note, the *raga* is meant for 3 A.M. to 9 A.M. In *sandhiprakash raga* both the *madhyam svaras komal* (F) and *tivra* (F[#]) go together. Examples :

| <i>Purvang pradhan</i> | <i>Uttarang pradhan</i> | <i>Sandhiprakash</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Yaman</i> | <i>Deshkar</i> | <i>Lalit</i> |
| (sonant=E) | (sonant=A) | (sonant=F [#]) |
| <i>Poorvi</i> | | |
| (sonant=F) | | |

There are some *ragas* which are *sarvkalik*, (the *ragas* to be sung at any time of the day) such as, *pahari*, *dhani*, etc.

A few of them can be grouped in terms of season. For instance, the *ragas*, *megh malhar*, *sur malhar*, *malhar* are of rainy season whereas the *ragas* like *basant*, *basant bahar*, etc. are of spring season.

A Classification of Musical Styles according to the Nature of Rhythm

So far we were dealing with the possible categories of *ragas*. Now we shall be dealing with the classification of the *gayan paddhati* (style of rendition) according to the nature of rhythm.

In one way to classify the *gayan* is classified in terms of *anibaddh* and *nibaddh tala* (rhythmic pattern). By *anibaddh gayan* we mean, a particular style in which certain portion of rendition is not set to a *tala*. For instance, the *alapchhari* (prelude) in *dhrupad* and *khayal* is done with meaningless syllables such as *nom-tom*, and *a, da, ta, na*, etc. But it does not mean that the *alpachhari* is done without *laya* (tempo) and sequence. Here it gives ample scope to a *gayak* or a *vadak* (instrumentalist) for *barhat* (elaboration) to use *gamak* (cadence), *kan* (grace-note), etc. The *nibaddh gayan* is contrary to the *anibaddh gayan*. It is always set to a *tala*. For instance, *thumri*, *tarana*, etc.

In recent times the trend however, appears to have totally changed.

Now the *gayaks* (musicians) are seen rendering *khayal* in the *nibaddh* style to sustain the interest of the listener.

This kind of classification also appears to be applicable to the *laukic* music. For instance, the *khari birha* of *Ahir* is of *anibaddh* nature whereas that of *Khatik* is of *nibaddh* nature. The *Kahrau chhoot* occupies an intermediary position.

A Classification of Musical Styles in terms of its Infra-structure

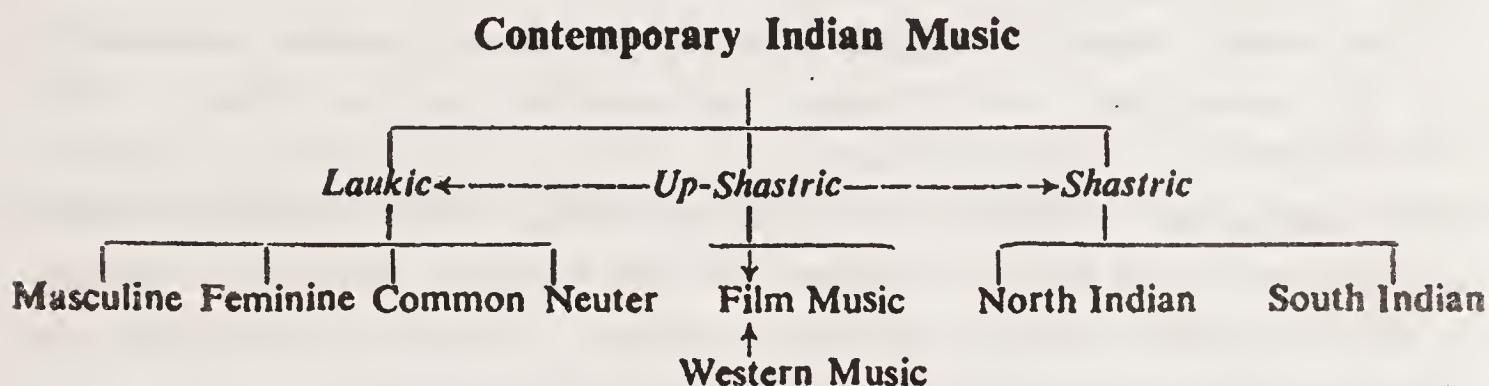
The *gayan paddhati* is also classified in terms of its infra-structure. For instance, *dhrupad*, a musical style, is characterised by its *alapchari* of *nom-tom* and its thematic format has four basic divisions—*sthayi* (level) *antara*, *sanchari* (wandering) and *abhog*. It is the play of *laya* sequentially one to eight time unit at least for an expert *gayak* equalling to one time unit of it. Each musical note is pronounced clearly. In *khayal gayki*, the *alapchari* is performed with the use of *khatka* (grace note), *mirh* (slur note) etc. Its theme has two stanzas *sthayi* and *antara*. It starts from *bilambit laya* (slow tempo) and ends in *drut laya* (fast tempo). The *khayal* is characterised and differentiated from other styles by the uses of *tan* (melodic figures), *boltan* (a variety of *tan*) etc. *Thumri* combines both the *khayal* and the *tappa* in a very ornamental form. Its *gayki* is not strictly followed by a particular *raga*. More than one *raga* is used while singing in order to beautify a particular composition. The *tappa* is characterised by the frequent use of combined musical notes in succession. It is nothing but a “*taanbaji*”.

The *tarana* is characterised by the use of syllables or their combination like *na*, *dir*, *tana*, etc. It is sung in fast tempo.

Musical Styles and Varna System

The *varna* system is the base of India's cultural tradition. The whole cultural system is associated with its four basic division of it, viz., *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra*. Not only the caste system has been grouped under above said four rubrics but also the stars, the soil, the music, etc. are placed under it in its own connotation. Thus *Ved mantras* and *prabandhan* is the *Brahmin samgeet* (music of the Brahmin) as they represented sacred hymns usually rendered by Brahmins. *Dhrupad* being a martial and disciplined style was labelled as *Kshatriya samgeet* (music of the Kshatriya). Usually the theme used in this style is characterised by heroic sentiment. *Khayal* is the *Vaishya samgeet* (music of the Vaishya) as it represented the values relating to wealth and luxury. It has both heroic as well as erotic sentiments. *Thumri* being a minor style and characterised by erotic sentiment is regarded as the *Shudra samgeet* (music of the Shudra) (Mohala, 1970 : X). However, this sort of classification given by Mohala appears to be comparatively a recent construct.

Now the classifications made of the contemporary Indian music may be presented diagrammatically showing its inter-relation with one another as follows :



Summary

The folk music, unlike the classical music, has been a neglected field in India. The earlier classification of the musical tradition in India has been value loaded and the terminologies used carry debased meaning showing superiority of one musical culture over another. For instance, to associate music with the unlettered mass or the lettered mass does not carry any meaning in the Indian situation. Majority of the traditional musicians in classical music are illiterate like the folk singers. All the more, many of the compositions of the folk singers or composers are very thoughtful which can in no way be distinguished from the written literature.

The folk music of any group or society is generally thought to be anonymous, a collective representation and orally transmitted. But Banaras presents a different picture. The composers use their names frequently. The compositions are cultivated individually which is the result of his personal experiences. Like the folk music, the classical music is also orally transmitted, though the latter has codified laws.

In the western society, both the folk and the classical music are treated as separate systems. In India, no such dichotomy can be drawn. The difference between the folk and the classical music is merely of degree of grammatization, not of dimension. Therefore, to classify the musical tradition of India, we need such terms and parameters that are cognitive and give a particularistic view of the culture.

The contemporary Indian music may be classified into four broad categories—the *laukic*, the *shastric*, the *up-shastric* and the film.

The *laukic* music, a part of the *laukic* tradition of un-reflective many, is uncoded, and unprocessed. It is characterised by the lesser degree of technicality and higher degree of socio-fact and the lack of non-aesthetic attitude. The *shastric* music is codified, and processed. It is characterised by the higher degree of technicality but the lesser degree of socio-fact. The *up-shastric* music occupies an intermediary position and thus

is a melange of both the *laukic* and the *shastric* music. The film music incorporates both the elements of the primary and the secondary civilization, i.e., the Indian music and the Western music. It may be said to be a syncretic phenomenon.

The *laukic* music is classified by the people of Banaras genderically into the masculine, the feminine, the common and the neuter. Their emic categories of songs and dances may, however, be grouped into two broad categories—periodical and non-periodical. The periodical music or dance is the one which is guided by the cultural calender, common to all the people living in a group or society. The non-periodical music or dance is the one which is performed throughout the year.

The *shastric* music is regionally classified into two—the North Indian music and the South Indian music. This is based on some structural differences or the differences in certain principles between them. The *ragas* prevalent in the North Indian music have, on the one hand, been grouped into ten genera scales—*thats*, from which many *ragas* emanate and on the other hand, in relation to the time perspective etc.

The style in which different *ragas* are presented may be classified into the following ways :

(1) In terms of the nature of *rhythm*, i.e., in the *nibaddh gayan* in which a presentation is set to a *tala* and in the *anibaddh gayan* in which a presentation is not set to a *tala*.

(2) In terms of the infra-structure of the different styles itself, the *dhrupad* is characterised by the *alapachari* of *nom-tom* and its format has *sthayi*, *antara*, *sanchari* and *abhog*. The *khayal* is characterised by the use of slur note, grace note, etc. The *tappa* is characterised by the quick movement of musical notes, the *thumri* by the use of more than a *raga* at a time, and the *tarana* is characterised by the use of particular syllables like *ta*, *na*, *dir*, etc. and

(3) In terms of its association with the *varna*-system—The *prabandhgan* is the *Brahmin samgeet*, the *dhrupad*, the *Kshatriya*, the *khayal*, the *Vaishya*, and the *thumari*, the *Shudra*—This sort of classification appears to be a recent construct.

Institutional Context of the Laukic — Music

In the preceding chapter, we endeavoured to classify the contemporary Indian music under four broad categories—*laukic*, *shastric*, *up-shastric* and Film with special reference to our field situation at Banaras.

In the present chapter we shall discuss the institutional context of the *laukic* music particularly in the light of the *gharana* (lineage) system, the *guru-shishya parampara* (master-disciple relationship), etc. which will be of great help in understanding its organizing principle, inter-ethnic relationship and the pattern and the process of persistence of the various *laukic* musical traditions in Banaras.

Gharana : A Definition

Generally, the term *gharana* connotes “belonging to a house, family or lineage”. In the context of the *shastric* music the term *gharana* implies certain conditions. There, it stands for the transmission of a particular *gayki* (style of singing), *baj* (style of playing a *vadya*) or *nayki* (style of dancing) cultivated by an individual or a group of individuals of the same lineage at least for three generations in continuation. (Basu 1971 : 333 and Deshpande 1973 : 11). In the context of the *laukic* music the term *gharana* stands for a group of musical performers who share a common *guru-shishya parampara* irrespective of generational continuity. Other terms like that of the *akhara* (group), *bana* (boundary) and *gol* (circle) which are frequently used by the people of Banaras convey the same meaning though each one of them has different literal meaning.

Formation Process.

How is a *gharana* in the *laukic* music formed? What is the basis of its formation? The answer to these questions can be given from the experience achieved from field study in Banaras. In Banaras, a *gharana* in the *laukic* music appears to be formed through the continuation of *guru-shishya parampara*. Since the 19th century it has so happened that with the gearing up of the tradition of *Dangal a larant* or *bhirant vidya* (the art of participating in musical competitions) in which persons from two different music-performing groups of two different *gharanas* execute *khandan-*

mandan (polemics) *saval-jabab* (question-answer) or *jor-tor* (vying with each other in musical terms) on various cultural issues performers, who have been unable to compose songs or who do not possess the vast cultural knowledge, have to establish relationship with composers and accept them as *gurus*. As a result, the continuation of this tradition has led to the formation of different *gharanas* after the name of the different founding members through a series of this type of relationship from generation to generation. As the *laukic* music has an urban base in the city of Banaras, the importance of commercialization in the formation of *gharanas* may not be ignored.

Identification Process

In case of the *shastric* music, a *gharana* is generally identified by the names of different centres of music, such as, *Vishnupur gharana* (West Bengal), *Jaipur gharana* (Rajasthan) *Lucknow gharana* (U.P.) and so on patronised by princes. A *gharana* in the *Laukic* music is identified by the name of a founding composer, viz., the *gharanas* of Bhairon, Rambodh, Binesari and so on. Further, in the *shastric* music each *gharana* has its own *gayki*, *baj* or *nayki* which can be understood and differentiated in terms of the morphological, syntactical and intonational characteristics (Chaitanyadev 1974 : 62). For instance, the *gayki* of the *Agra gharana* is characterised by *jabre ki tan* (melodic figures produced from the jaws) whereas that of the *Gwalior gharana* is characterised by *sapat* (simple melodic figures) and *alankarik tan* (ornamented melodic figures). In the *laukic* music there is no such structural difference. For instance, if Ramdas Sitarehind a founder of one of the *gharanas* in *kajri* had an extraordinary command over the *kajri* of *adhar* (a compositional style in which the syllables *pa*, *ph*, *ba*, *bh* and *ma* are never used, so that lips do not touch each other at the time of singing), it does not mean that a person of a different *gharana* may not compose and sing this type of composition. Further the naming of a *gharana* in the *laukic* music is in fact, similar to the naming of a sect—a religious grouping founded in the name of a founding member, viz., Dadu, Kabir, Ramanand, etc.

Gharana : A Classification

Gharanas in the *laukic* music of Banaras may be classified into two broad categories—the 'uni-ethnocentric *gharana*' and the 'multi-ethnocentric *gharana*'.

The uni-ethnocentric *gharana* is the one which is composed of the members of a single ethnic or caste-group, such as Chamar (exclusively in the *Nakkara vadan*), Dhobi, Kahar, etc., who have commercialized and institutionalized the musical traditions of their own. The multiethnocentric *gharana* is the one which is composed of the members from different

castes and religious group. Different *gharanas* of *shayri birha* (a variety of the *birha* of Ahir) and the *shayri kajri* (a variety of the *kajri*) may be put under this category.

The Structural Feature of Gharanas in the Laukic Music

The structural features of *gharanas* in the *laukic* music of Banaras are not identical. For instance, the *gharanas* of the *Kahrau* music (music of the Kahar caste). *Dhobiau* music (music of the Dhobi caste) and *Chamrau* music (music of the Chamar caste) are neither differentiated nor treated equal. But the *gharanas* of *shayri kajri* are to use the term of Dumont (1966) "hierarchicus" in nature as the different *gharanas* named after different founding members have been grouped under four classes which corresponding to the four classes of the *varna*-system. Says Shayar Vishvanath (Sagra Madhopur) of the *Baffat gharana* :

"*Gharanas* of *shayri kajri* are of four classes :

1. *Kalangi* (a prince's feather plume)
2. *Sehra* (a nuptial chaplet)
3. *Turra* (the crest of a crown) and
4. *Dhundha* (a round hole in the middle of a crown in which the *kalangi* is inserted) of which the first one is the highest and the last one is the lowest in rank which corresponds to the position of the items mentioned in the crown sequentially. The above said four categories, the *kalangi*, *sehra*, *turra* and *dhundha* correspond to the four *varnas*—the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* in values associated with each of them".

The reason for grouping the four classes of *gharanas* of the *shayri kajri* is in accordance with the difference in the "interpretative style" of various cultural themes. To have a better understanding, we may take the example of the *dhundha gharana* which is put lowest in rank and equal to the *Shudra*. Even if a theme is religious its presentation and interpretation is "obnoxious". For instance, take two lines of a composition :

Mai ke tore lebai na kaylin
Kare tu hamke babu kahaile ?
Bahin ke tore lebai na kayalin
Kaise hamke bahnoi kahaile ?

(I have not copulated with your mother
 Why do you address me as father ?

I have not copulated with your sister
 How do you address me as brother-in-law ?)

At the manifest-level the interpretative style and content are obnoxious

though at the latent level it contains a deeper meaning. The first line is, in fact, a dialogue between Hanuman and his son Makradhvaj when Hanuman went to *patalpuri* (under earth) to set Ram and Lakshman free from the hands of Ahiravan. The second line is nothing but a dialogue between Lakshman and Khar and Dushan—brother of Surpanakha.

The first and the second stories go as follows :

(1) Ahiravan, the brother of the demon King Ravan, ruled over the *patalpuri*. Once, when he heard that Ram and Lakshman have an enmity with his brother, he abducted them to his palace. He decided to offer them to the goddess Kali of whom he was a devotee.

Hanuman, the devotee of Ram and Lakshman followed Ahiravan to *patalpuri* to set them free from his clutches. On the gate of the palace was Makradhvaj-the watchman. Hanuman knew nothing about him. So in order to enter into the palace, he attacked Makradhvaj with his club but was surprised to find Makradhvaj addressing him as father. Hanuman, then, asked for explanation. Makradhvaj reminded him of the event of extinguishing the flames he carried in his tail in the ocean after he set Lanka to fire. The burnt portion of his tail was devoured by a crocodile. As a result, the crocodile conceived and this resulted in his birth.

(2) Once Surpanakha, the sister of Khar and Dushan, who was an aged widow, found Ram and Lakshman in the forest, and was enamoured by their beauty. She wanted to marry either of them. So having turned into a beautiful maid, she met Ram and Lakshman and proposed to them which they turned down. At their refusal she turned herself ferocious. Seeing her appearance, Sita, the wife of Ram, was frightened. Lakshman, observing the situation caught hold of her and punished Surpanakha by cutting her nose and ears. Surpanakha went back with tears and narrated the story before her brothers. She persuaded them to avenge the wrong done to her. Therefore, both Khar and Dushan came with their army to fight. When Khar and Dushan were face to face with Lakshman in the battle-field, they addressed him as their "sister's husband" as Surpanakha wanted to marry him.

Here, the composer has composed the verses in a way that it fits well into the texture of the story of the epic.

Contrary to "*dhundha*", the "interpretative style" of compositions of "*kalangi*" is highly thoughtful and philosophical. For instance—

Ek darkhat main aisa dekha ulta saks au hariyali,

Upar uska jar hai pyare niche ko latki dali

(I have seen such a tree which, though green, is obverted, O beloved ; the root of which is above but the stems are below)

Here by "tree" the composer means a "human being" whose "root" is his "brain" and "stems" are his "hands" and "legs".

The interpretative style of *gharanas* falling under the class “*sehra*” is close to that of the “*kalangi*” and focuses mainly those aspects of the culture which are deeply related to the social facts. An example may be given below that relates to the life of a widow.

Mard byah das-das the karke maja uravena,

Vidhva ek byah bin palang ke upar husna jalayena

(A male enjoys his life marrying ten girls at a time. But a widowed female, who is not allowed to marry further, has to waste her youth.)

The compositions of *turra gharana* are puzzling. For instance, *Ai shayar main tujhse puchhun, sarsi bani ki ghan pahle* (O *shayar* : I ask you, which one of the two were invented first the tongs or the hammer).

Ulthan Yadav (Aurangabad), a *birha*-singer, reported that the above kind of labels *kalangi*, *sehra*, *turra* and *dhundha* have initially been attributed to the *khayaliyas* (one who sings *khayal*. Here *khayal* is a compositional style in *shayri* which is totally different from the term *khayal* of *shastric* music) by a king of Delhi but he also accepts that the *shayri kajri* is a later type which developed out of the *khayal*. Thus the classes of *gharanas* in the *shayri kajri* which has its hieratic value appears socially significant in the culture of Banaras.

As said earlier, there is no such concept of hierarchy in case of the *Kaharau*, *Dhobiau* and *Chamarau* and even in the *birha gharanas*. But from the *kursinama* (genealogy) of different *gharanas* it appears that excepting a few each uni-ethnocentric *gharana* is related to the hierarchic division of *gharanas* of the *shayri kajri*.

In general, there is no clear distinction between one *gharana* and the other in the *laukic* music unlike the *shastric* music but each of the *gharanas* in the *laukic* music is distinguished in terms of individual specialities. For instance, the compositions of Baffat in *theth* (local dialect), of Bhairon in *nirgun*, of Ramdas ‘Sitarehind’ in *adharband* etc., are incompatible and extraordinary. Thus the *gharana*, which is a means to accumulate the cultural repertory also helps in preserving the individual specialities from generation to generations. Besides, there may be a difference between one ethnic *gharana* and the other. One may be characterised by social-motif and another by religious-motif but if the total repertory of two different ethnic groups are collected and compared, no such distinction would appear. Thus, irrespective of the variations in different *gharanas* of different types and different classes there is some common cultural motif shared by the people of each *gharana* though the way of manipulating the cultural motif may differ.

Gharanas and Inter-Ethnic Interaction

The *gharana* has a diadic character which is being observed in the light of

uni-ethnocentric and multi-ethnocentric *laukic* music. From the *kursinama* of different *gharanas* collected, it is evident that in case of the *shayri kajri* and the *shayri birha*, the *guru-shishya* relationship is not confined to a particular caste and religion, i.e., there is neither caste barrier nor religious barrier. Performers from both high and low caste groups, such as, Brahman, Rajput, Kayastha, Baniya, Teli, Pasi, Chamar, Koyri, Ahir, Barai, Kunbi, Mallah, Bin, Hela, Lohar, Rajbhar, Kaseria, Nai, Bari, Kurmi, Julaha (Muslim), Muslim and so on, all of them share the relationship of *guru-bhai* (fellows disciples of the same teachers) under the tutelage of one *guru* who himself may be of either high or low caste or religion (*vide pp. 261, 265, Kursinama No. I, V*). For instance, Bhairon was Hela (sweeper) by caste, Baffat was a Muslim Julaha and so on occupying the lowest position in the caste hierarchy. The best example to demonstrate the nature of relationship between a *guru* and his *shishya* may be cited from a family of Sigra Madhopur where both a *guru* and his *shishya* share the same kitchen. It is the house of Shayar Vishvanath of the *Baffat gharana* where his two disciples, one belonging to the higher caste Brahmin and the other to the lower caste (Julaha, the grand-grand son of Shayar Baffat), live under the same roof. It does not show only the intimate relationship between a *guru* and his *shishya* but also the relationship among *shishyas*. Here, the *gharana* serves as a melting pot in certain spheres of interaction.

The case of the uni-ethnocentric *gharana* is diametrically opposite to the previous one. Among the uni-ethnocentric *gharanas* which are often found among the lower caste groups, such as, Chamar, Dhobi, Kahar and so on, we hardly find the higher caste people sharing their musical traditions and accepting them as their *guru*. It has been reported by a Chamar instrumentalist that when a Pasi started learning the *vadya* Nakkara, it was objected by his fellowmen of his ethnic group (personal communication from Bachchalal). Thus in case of the uni-ethnocentric music, the *guru-shishya* relationship is almost confined to a group only. In case of a *Kahrau gharana* of Rambodh, a case of inter-ethnic relationship is also noted with a person of a lower caste group, i.e., with a Kumhar (potter). The statement made by Vishvanath Kahar of Kabirchaura, "previously *thakurs* (Rajputs) and Brahmins used to come to learn from us", does not give a clue to show the relation of the Kahar with the higher caste groups because the *kursinama* of his *gharana* does not show any member from higher caste group accepting any Kahar as *guru*. (*vide page 264, kursinama No. IV*).

Thus observing the nature of relationship among different *gharanas*, we may regard the uni-ethnocentric *gharana* as the 'closed system *gharana*' and the multi-ethnocentric *gharana* as the 'opened system *gharana*'.

So far as the distribution of *gharanas* is concerned, in case of the

uni-ethnocentric *gharana*, the spread of the *guru-shishya* relation is confined to a particular district only. But in some cases it extends to the adjacent districts. For instance one member of the *Kahrau gharana* is from Gazipur (*vide* page 264, *kursinama* No. IV).

Shayar Baffat who is associated with a *Dhobiau gharana* of Banaras was from Mirzapur (*vide* page 262, *kursinama* No. II). In case of the multi-ethnocentric *gharana*, the relationship is extended to inter-state level. For instance, many of the disciples of *Shayar Baffat* live in Calcutta (West Bengal), Bombay and Bihar (*vide* page 265, *kursinama* No. V). It is so because many of the *shishyas* went outside U.P. in search of employment where they were accepted by the Bhojpurians and started performing the *birha* and the *kajri dangal*. Sometimes the performers from Banaras also perform outside wherever they are invited. However, it is unsafe to say of the extent to which the music performers are distributed unless detailed information is collected both in and outside Banaras.

Guru Shishya Parampara

The term *guru* conveys a pervasive meaning (see *Padmapurana*, 6—36—65); in the present context it means *vidyapradata*, i.e., “from whom the knowledge can be received” (Bhagvat 11/7/32-34).

And hence, to learn music and dance one has to be a disciple of a person who is capable of teaching. But to become a disciple one has to go through rituals of initiation. He has formally to offer *sirni* (sweet-meat) to the *guru*. To accept a person as a disciple is locally termed as “*chela murna*” (literally meaning to cheat a disciple, as the act of taking gift from a disciple is morally ridiculed). However, once a person has accepted anybody as *guru*, he is not supposed to perform the *dangal* against the members of his own *gharana* to which his *guru* belongs to. But from the history of the *gharana* formation, it has also been noted that there are some persons who have not given *sirni* to a person but are dependent for compositions on others to whom they regard as *guru*. However, if the time permits they can face them on the stage. Such persons are supposed to belong to the “*Saraswati gharana*” (personal communication from *Shayar Vishvanath*). The *Bhand*, and the *Hizra* for instance, are put under this category.

In the *laukic* music the relation between a *guru* and his *shishya* is transferable. But this act is always strongly protested by the members of the *gharana* to which the *shishya* belongs. They plea that until a person to be accepted as *guru* defeats all the members of the *gharana* to which the disciple willing to accept him as *guru* belongs he can not accept him as his disciple. But if a person of a *gharana* is indifferent to the members of his own *gharana* and is disliked by them he is easily “let to go”.

Guru Poojan

In our *shastric* tradition it is a convention to whorship the *guru* (*Padmpuran*, 3—51—36—37). In the *laukic* tradition also there is a convention to worship the *guru*. He is *poojya* (worshipful) because it is he who gives *gyan* (knowledge) and without whose *kripa* (the act of benevolence) nobody can learn anything. Therefore, every year, a *guru* is worshipped by the singers, instrumentalists and dancers on auspicious occasions. The Nakkara players worship their *guru* on the day of *Deepavali* (a festival of the light widely celebrated throughout North India when Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is worshipped) when they offer *sirni* or sometime pay in cash or in kind as *guru-dakshina* (fee or offering in lieu of his teachings). On that day they touch the feet of their *guru* and take *ashirvad* (blessings) from him and show their dexterity in handling the *vadya* Nakkara. In case of Dhobi the *guru* is worshipped on the day of *Basant Panchmi* (on the fifth day of the spring festival). The *shayars* of *kajri* worship their *guru* on the day of *Gangadasahra* (a ritual in Banaras observed in the month of May or June) and so on. Not only that, whenever party members have to perform music, everyone of them, remembers his *guru* before starting the performance.

Achar-Samhita (Behavioural Code)

As said earlier that there are two types of institutions in the *laukic* music—the uni-ethnocentric and multi-ethnocentric. The *achar samhita* followed by the latter which is much closer to the *shastric* tradition, operates in contrast to the former which is much more secularly oriented. For instance, in multi-ethnocentric institution, the disciples learn social etiquette and code of morality that may be listed below: The ethical norms of *guru-shishya* relationship dictate that (1) a *guru* should be revered most, (2) one should not disobey his *guru*, (3) one should not take anything immoral to his *guru*, (4) one should not argue illogically with his *guru*, (5) one should not use intoxicant before his *guru*, (6) whenever a *guru* takes *laychi* (contract) for performance his disciple should not ask for his share. The monetary matter rests wholly on his *guru*.

The kind of relation between a *guru* and *shishya* described above operates in contrast to the kind of relation observed and reported in uni-ethnocentric institution as said earlier. It has been reported by the party head, Vishvanath Kahar of *Rambodh-gharana*, that once Loda (Mustafabad, Banaras) sold his disciple (a *launda* who was a dancer) after taking some remuneration from a *thakur* (a rich Rajput for a night when the *thakur* became *lattu* (enamoured) on him.

Mode of Learning the Laukic Music

There are mainly two modes of learning the *laukic* music in Banaras, viz., through emulation and through script.

To learn the art of the *Nakkara vadan*, for instance, it requires training from the early childhood. Initially a child, instead of handling the *Nakkara*, is allowed to emulate its patterned sounds on a metallic dish on which he reproduces the sound heard with the help of two sticks through trial and error techniques. Later on, when he is grown up, he is allowed to play the *Nakkara*. As a result, he further learns this skill through his involvement in a number of performances. However, there are a few instrumentalists who have learnt the art of playing the instrument without the help of a *guru* and without involvement in any performance. For instance, Vishvanath Kahar claims that he has learnt to play the *Huduk* only through free trial and error method without taking any sort of guidance from the *Huduk* player.

Like playing upon an instrument, dance is also learnt through imitation process and regular involvement in a number of performances since childhood. A child who learns dancing is known as *launda* (a dancer), who is usually tender in age and handsome.

The song is generally learnt orally and aurally by an illiterate person from a *guru*. A *guru* sometime allows his disciple to sing in chorus and sometime alone. Whenever a disciple commits mistake during performance he is rebuked, corrected and sometimes beaten if the *guru* is short tempered. The song-text is also learnt through script by a literate singer on the basis of what he collects from the members of his own *gharana*. However, melodies are learnt through imitation process *i.e.*, by listening to his *guru* or to a song-recital.

Guru Shishya Relationship and Gupta Vidya

The concept of *gupta-vidya* (secret knowledge) is deeply embedded in Indian culture particularly between a *guru* and his *shishya*. This tradition is rationalised in terms of preservation of quality and maintenance of the boundaries of a group. In reality the operation of the system is underlain by the concern of the *guru* to maintain his dominance over disciples. The specific nature of *guru shishya* relationship varies according to the temperament of the *guru*. When a *guru* finds his disciple *avalipta* (proud) and *utpathpratipann* (tending to a wrong direction) he takes measures to keep the disciple within the limits of the *gharana*. An event of *dangal* taken place between a *guru* and his *shishya* of Banaras in the *shastric* music would clarify the statement made above. The event may be referred to in brief as follows :

Musila, a *Veena-vadak* from Ujjeni came to Banaras to learn the art of instrumentation from a noted musician, Guptila. He heard about him from the traders of Banaras who had been to Ujjeni. He came to Banaras persuaded Guptila and became his disciple even after his initial refusal. Guptila, though he knew the nature of Musila, taught him sincerely.

After Musila finished his learning, he was appointed as a court musician at the request of his teacher from the king of Banaras where he himself was a court musician. But Musila was not satisfied with the salary he got as it was not equal to his teacher's salary. So he asked the king for an equal salary claiming that he knew as much as his teacher knew. He, to prove his skill, agreed to compete with his teacher on the seventh day. The king sent the message by drum beating. On the seventh day, a *dangal* was organised between Musila and Guttila before a large gathering in the palace.

First, both Musila and Guttila presented the same musical piece on the Veena. Next Guttila broke its bee-string and played the musical piece. So did Musila. Guttila went on breaking upto the seventh string alternately and played successfully. So did Musila. At the end, Guttila played the musical piece on the board of the Veena itself which Musila failed to do. He was declared defeated and as a punishment, he was bruised with stones and killed by the multitude. (Jataka, Vol. II : 172-176).

In the light of the above instance where a disciple was not a *satpatra* (true devotee), one realises the reason why a *guru* observes the caution of secrecy in the mode of transmission of skill. This concept of secrecy is also operative in the field of the *laukic* music where a *guru* hardly gives his compositions to his disciples unless he finds his disciples patient, tolerant and devoted. *Shayar* Vishvanath informed that a *guru* does not ordinarily give his compositions. He, himself, in order to get compositions from his *guruji*, visited his house for two months regularly without any gain. At least when his *guru* saw that he would not spare him so easily, he gave him a few compositions and asked him to come after getting them by heart. Next day he visited his house as he had already memorised his lesson. Seeing him next day his *guru* was enraged and told that unless he remembered that compositions, he would not give him any other composition. But when he recited his lesson, he was surprised to see the power of his memory. He patted him and started loving. Since then he continued giving him compositions, but he never taught him the laws of compositions. His *guru* kept it a secret because he was afraid that he might outwit him in the technique of composition. Then he would hardly visit his house. He further added that it is this secrecy which causes others to bow before his teacher. Thus, secrecy for a *guru* is also a means to achieve and continue his 'status'.

So far, secrecy has been discussed in a situation where there is the relationship of *guru* and *shishya* but it is also maintained between two contesting groups. A *Nakkara vada* has *chhupi lakri* (secret musical beats used on crucial moment) which he hardly exposes on an ordinary occasion with a fear that his opponent might listen to and practice it.

As reported by Mangru who hails from the caste Dhobi :

“We keep some of the songs secret because the time the person of a different *gharana* with whom we usually make vocal recital duelling, may listen to it and prepare for the next chance”. Thus in the field of the *laukic* music where there is the tradition of *dangal*, the concept of secrecy appears a logical, inevitable and a purposeful means for standing up in the public field. Nevertheless, the ‘secrecy’ has a limit as the occasion of *dangal* leads others to unravel it in different situation on various occasions.

Summary

The *gharana*, a formal institution, in the *laukic* music stands for a group of musical performers who share a common *guru-shishya* relationship irrespective of generational continuity. It is formed through the continuity of the *guru-shishya* relationship. In Banaras, a number of *gharanas* have been formed with the gearing up of the tradition of *dangal*, an organized event in which performers from two different *gharanas* contest with each other on various cultural issues.

In the *shastric* music, a *gharana* is generally identified in the name of a centre patronised by princes in the past, but a *gharana* in the *laukic* music is identified in the name of a founding member. The naming of a *gharana* may be similar to the naming of a sect.

The *gharana* in the *laukic* music may be classified into two broad categories—the uni-ethnocentric *gharana* and the multi-ethnocentric *gharana*. The uni-ethnocentric *gharana* is the one in which the members involved belong to a single caste-group. For instance, the musical institutions of the Chamar, Dhobi and Kahar may be put under this category. The multi-ethnocentric *gharana* is composed of members from different higher and lower caste-groups and religions. The *gharanas* in the *shayri birha* and the *shayri kajri* may be put under this category.

The structural features of *gharanas* of the *laukic* music of Banaras are not identical. For instance, the *gharanas* among the Chamar, Dhobi, Kahar, etc., are neither differentiated nor treated equal in rank. But the *gharanas* of the *shayri kajri* are “hierarchicus” that have been grouped under four classes—the *kalangi*, *sehra*, *turra* and *dhundha* which correspond to the four classes of the *varna* system—the *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* that are ranked in relation to the society as a whole. One class of the *gharana* is differentiated from another in accordance with the difference in the ‘interpretative style’ of various cultural themes.

From genealogies of singers collected, we also find that most of the uni-ethnocentric *gharanas*, i.e., of the Dhobi and Kahar are related to the multi-ethnocentric *gharanas* of the *shayri kajri*.

On the level of inter-ethnic interaction, we find that the uni-ethno-

centric *gharana* operates in contrast to the multi-ethnocentric *gharana*. If the former is a 'closed system *gharana*' the latter is of 'opened system'.

As in the *shastric* tradition, the tradition of *guru-shishya* relationship is also prevalent in the field of the *laukic* music. To learn music and dance a person has to accept another person as a *guru* by offering him *sirni* (sweetmeat). The relationship between a *guru* and his *shishya* is transferable both at intra and inter *gharana* level. The *guru* is worshipped at least once a year on an auspicious occasion.

The behavioural code to be followed in the multi-ethnocentric *gharana* operates in contrast to the uni-ethnocentric *gharana*. If in the former a disciple learns ethical norms, in the latter, he may often be observed to be indulging in immoral acts.

There are, mainly, two modes of learning the *laukic* music in Banaras —(1) through emulation and (2) through script.

The concept of secrecy, as in the *shastric* music, has also penetrated into the field of the *laukic* music maintained between a *guru* and his *shishya*. The secrecy for a *guru* is a means to achieve and maintain "status". It is also maintained between two contesting groups but when occasion demands it has to be unravelled. The secrecy thus observed is not absolute.

Specialists in the Laukic Music

In the preceding chapter, we have seen how through the *gharua* the continuity of cultural tradition is maintained both at uni- and multi-ethnic levels of the *laukic music*. Besides, we have also noted its structural features and integrative function in the culture of Banaras.

Now, in the present chapter an attempt will be made to discuss the concepts of specialization and specialist, the nature of status of performers in the culture of Banaras and the place of the *laukic music* in the life of performers respectively.

Concept of Specialization

In traditional Indian society, specialization of occupation is a birth ascribed phenomenon. For instance, the members of a priestly community are supposed to be specialized in ritual aspect and thus their service is sought when occasion demands. Such is the case with the music performing groups. The Chamar, for instance, whose traditional occupation is the leather work, is ascribed to play the *vadya Nakkara* on occasions like birth, marriage, etc; because the material from which the Nakkara is covered, is leather specially that of the cow considered to be highly polluting by other caste groups. However, we may not ignore the fact, that specialization is also an achieved phenomenon either because of the personal talents that are identified and accepted by the people of a cultural group to which an individual belongs or because of the cultural autonomy in which each caste group is allowed to develop certain cultural traits. Music is one of them. The Ahir, Dhobi, Kahar and so on, almost all of them have their caste-music shared within the group, which reflect the life-pattern of the concerned group. However, whether the specialization be an ascribed or an achieved phenomenon, it stands for a "conscious" as well as an "unconscious process" in which a person or a group of persons acquires "special skill" or "special knowledge" either through a formal or informal training in the field concerned. This has happened so in the field of the *laukic music* of Banaras. For instance, the so called *shayar* (a composer) of *sahityik kajri* (literary *kajri*) has to learn the laws of composition under a *guru* who is well versed in its grammar. Therefore, in this sense, *shayri* is a field of specialization and a *shayar* is

a specialist of *kajri* composition. The knowledge of *shayri* is a "special skill" consciously acquired under formal training. But the composers of *khari rangat kajri* (a variety of the *shayri kajri*) have hardly been under formal training to learn the laws of composition. Most of the compositions of the *kajri* in *khari rangat* are the product of the uncoded law and even without learning its grammar the composers have shown "poetic excellence" in that field. Thus here, the knowledge of *shayri* has been acquired through "unconscious process". A Chamar, who is a *vadak* of Nakkara, learns to handle it through "imitation process" even if the training is formal but there is no codified rule to teach it among them. One has to acquire this "special skill" through "unconscious process". As said in the previous chapter a Huduk Player learnt to play the Huduk without any formal training. A Pakhavaj player also did the same way.

The concept of specialization appears to be a "selective process". The selective process means that even if one has acquired a special skill in a particular field, his specialisation has a limit. If one is a *shayar* it does not mean that he is *shayar* in perfect state. The field of *shayri* even in *kajri* has no limit and is characterised by multiplicity of compositional styles. For instance, if Ramdas 'Sitarehind', a *shayer* of *kajri*, was specialized and unparallel in *nakhsikhi* (description from head to feet) and *kayavistar ki kajri* (a description pertaining to body). Bhairon was specialized in *nirgunia kajri* (*nirgun* is a sect founded by Kabir). Baffat was famous for his compositions in *theth* (local dialect). Shyamlal was expert in *barjasta* (spontaneous composition). Similar is the case in the *shastric* music. If one is a *shastriya samgeetagya* (musician of the *shastric* music), it never means that he has command over all branches of *gayki*. He is either a *dhrupadiya* or a *khayaliya*. Even if he has mastery over *khayal* style of singing, it never means that he has knowledge of the other *gharanas*. He has simply the knowledge of only one *gharana*. It may be the *Kirano gharana*,—*Bishnupur gharana*, *Jaipur gharana* or any other *gharana* of the *shastric* music. Even if he has mastery over one *gharana*, it never means that he has specialized in all the *ragas* in practice. He may have command over only *malkaunsh*, *todi* or *bageshwari*. Therefore, the process of specialization appears very complex and the complexity is intensified through the creative process of development of new styles. Thus increase in complexity has a correlation with creativity.

The concept of "specialization" has crept into the field where the base of creativity is an individual being. For instance, singing of the *loriki*, *nayakva* or *alha* is not a communal phenomenon. It is the property of an individual and preserved by him. The *vadya* Nakkara or Huduk is handled by an individual. Specialisation has also crept particularly into those groups which are commercial and where there is always conscious

attempt towards improvization and elaboration in order to cause defeat to other groups on the occasion of the *dangal*. For instance, the idea of *shayri* has been introduced among *kajri* singers, Kahar, Dhobi, Bhand etc, as a result of the phenomenon of contest and which has further been accelerated with the motive of commercialization. In *shayri* usually, a member of a particular party asks a number of questions to a member of the other contesting party concerning “*bed*” (text) or “*labed*” (not in text) in which the cultural knowledge of each other is challenged. For instance, among *kajri* singers the knowledge of literary grammar is also challenged in which a member of a party is asked to reply in *sarangi chhand*, in *chark-hana*, in *damru bandh* or in *dhanushban bandh* metre and so on. If he does not answer the questions the contestant will be stopped on the stage from singing further. This process helps in giving a logical base for building up the composition. As a result, it goes on becoming complex and complex.

But specialization is ruled out where the music or an aspect of it is cherished by a caste group as a whole. For instance, in case of the *Ahirau nritya*, *Khatikau nritya* or *Chamarau nritya* which all of these three are of common style, every member of Ahir, Khatik or Chamar caste can dance to the beat of the *vadya* Nakkara. No one is supposed to possess this art as ‘special skill’. This is comparable to the total participation among the tribals.

The Specialist

In Banaras such terms of reference as *shayar*, *gujariya* or *launda Gaunharin*, *Bhand*, *Hizra* etc., are loosely used for either an individual performer or for a group of performers. To the listeners, a person who sings *kajri* when the *kajri dangal* is organised is a *shayar*. *Gaunharin* for them is a special group of ladies, the professional performers of music. The *Bhand* is a special group of performers famous for mimicry and jocular performance. But can we regard every *vadak*, *shayar*, *Bhand* or *Gaunharin* as specialist? Says Mithailal, a famous Nakkara *vadak* of Banaras that every Nakkary *vadak* can not be regarded and addressed as *khalifa* (veteran). A person who knows little or who is skilled to a lesser degree is not a *khalifa*. A *khalifa* is he who has an extra-ordinary command over techniques of Nakkara *vadan* and is never defeated in Nakkara duelling. Besides, he is a *khalifa* in the true sense only when he knows both the art of *vadan* and construction of the instrument. For instance, he regards Babulal of Nagvan as *khalifa* who can both construct and handle the *vadya*.

Thus from the statement made above it becomes clear that the term specialist conveys something more than acquiring special knowledge. It implies a qualitative explanation to convey its true sense. Therefore,

we may define the term specialist in terms of attributes which a person has acquired or inherited and is being addressed and recognised by his group members for his typical characteristics what others rarely possess. Let us go through some of the verbatims which will further clarify the term.

Pointing to his throat, Shayar Vishvanth explained :

- A— “Raghunath had a kanth (voice) like that of a *kokila* (cuckoo). There were *siri* (beauty) and *pani* (essence) in his voice. There are none like him in the akhra of Baffat. He rendered along activity whatever the listeners proposed him to sing. There had been *lachak* (an expression of flexibility in the tone) in his voice. The public had a craze for him only due to this.”
- B— “It was Nabba who was comparable to Tansen. He sang like that of a haw cuckoo. His *adakari* (acting) was unparalleled. Whenever it was necessary he could weep, laugh and dance. He expressed his *bhav* (sentiment) with great success. His voice was very *karara* (forceful) and could ring a mile.”
- C— “Shyamlalji was very little educated but was a great scholar of Persian. He was a good judge and his judgement was respected by the *shayars* whenever the *dangal* of *kajri* was organised. He was famous for his *barjasta*. Whenever he was questioned he replied instantaneously with zeal. He had a boon of some superior power.”
- D— “Vishvanath Khalifa once lighted an earthen lamp while he was singing in Bombay. He was killed then and thereby a sorcerer.”

He handled the *vadya* Murchang in a unique manner while playing on, he threw it above and could catch it just on the stress of the rhythm. He was a genuine *shayar*. He used to compose, perform and play the *vadya*. Even at a slight mistake of the pronunciation he used to beat his disciple. Baffat Ustad has composed a song composition in the memory of Vishvanath Khalifa.

“*The jo chela Vishvanath,
Phero in chang ka upar hath,
Shayar math pitai apani khopariya na*”
(There was a disciple Vishvanath
Who handled the *Chang* in a manner that
astonished the *shayars*.)

Quoting an instance of Buddhram, Shayar Jagarnath *alias* Manjar informed.

- E— “One Buddhramji had to participate in a *kajri dangal* continuously for a week organised by a zamindar of Mirzapur. The result was not decided because his opponent was also strong. The Zamindar made a plan in his mind. He went in and brought a metallic dish covered with a piece of cloth on which he had put different types of

corns. He declared that the person who would name the things kept in the dish would win the *dangal*. At this proposal, Buddhuramji threw his Dholak and Manjira in a nearby well and started singing. Amazingly, the sounds of the Dholak and Manjira were coming out of the well in accompaniment with his song. He could tell the names of different corns which his opponent failed to do so. He had the boon of the goddesses Bhagvati and Saraswati."

Among the *Bhands* of Banaras, Ajooba has earned a great reputation because of his wit. He was the specialist in buffonery. It is said that "Once, he asked the Maharaja of Kashi for a horse for, he had to come to Ramnagar daily from Banaras town. The Maharaja ordered his secretary to give him a good horse. Instead, the secretary sneered at this proposal and gave him a sick horse which had large testicles. Ajooba did not tell him anything nor did he make any complaint against him to the Maharaja.

He knew that the Maharaja used to pass through the gate every morning. So the next morning he stood at the gate with his horse. He had already hung a pitcher from the neck of the horse. When the Maharaja was passing through, Ajooba gave a salute. The Maharaja noticed a pitcher hanging from the neck of the horse. He asked the reason. Ajooba immediately replied "to balance the weight of the testicles of the horse." The Maharaja was very much ashamed of it and rebuked his secretary accompanying him. Later on, Ajooba got a good horse" (personal communication from Pandit Kishan Maharaj).

From the above examples of different performers we can deduce that such attributes, *i.e.*, to have *kokila kanth*, *siri*, *pani*, and *lachak* in voice ; *karara* voice etc ; are "standards" which serve to distinguish a performer from an ordinary ones. Such is the idea with the attributes—*adakari*, lighting of an earthen-lamp, possessing magical power, wit etc. Thus to be a specialist means to be 'above par'. A specialist may have more than one attribute in him.

It is observed that some of the parameters for the judgement of a performer as specialists in the *laukic* music operate in contrast with that of the *shastric* music. Demerits for a *shastriya samgeetagya* (classical musician) are the merits for a *laukic samgeetagya* (folk musician). For instance, the term *adakari* in the *laukic* music stands for expressions by bodily actions. A *hirha* singer has been observed particularly. Ramdeo Yadav of Banaras, striking a palm against his thigh, singing with *karak* (thunderous voice) and scranching which the listeners enjoy much. The *prasari* (bodily actions), *udghusta* (thunderous voice) *samdashita* (scranching), *tumbaki* (expansion of throat) etc., are attributes in the *laukic* music but are considered demerits in the *shastric* music. Attributes like *dharnanvit* (memory), *jitshraya* (tirelessness) *talagya*

(knowledge of *tal*) *savdhan* (caution), *hriddyashabd* (pleasing voice) etc., are of common importance to both the shastric and the *laukic* music.

All the attributes mentioned above in the context of the *laukic* music are the factors for cultivating excellence about which we shall discuss later. As we have noticed earlier that the term specialist is used in its specific connotation, we will use a word "performer" as a common term to include such persons who may or may not be specialists. The term "composer" will be used in the same manner.

Composer-Performer Relationship

As discussed earlier, there are two groups, performers and composers, involved in the performance of the *laukic* music. Usually the composers are *guru*, highly valued by the performers whose help is necessary to stand in the field of the *birha* or *kajri* singing. The basis of relationship among the composers and performers is the *guru-shishya parampara* which is not commercial. The performer who gets compositions from his *guru* may also collect compositions from other members of his own *gharana*. Instead, he has to pay a little amount of money which itself depends upon his will. A composer can never give or sell his compositions in the hands of other members belonging to different *gharanas*. If so, he will be divorced and will be devoid of continuing the relationship with other members of his own *gharana*. It is also a taboo on the part of the performer to sing the compositions of other *gharanas*.

Status of Performers in Society

We have seen above that the composers are valued much in the society of performers but what is the status of a performer in the society of Banaras depends upon a number of factors as discussed below.

The Nature of Musical Performance

In the culture of Banaras, the status of performers may be judged in terms of the hieratic value of different musical performances. It is judged further according to the nature of their content and style of presentation etc. For instance, the *bharainti*, a type of jocular performance, is regarded as a low kind of performance because its contents and style of presentation are generally cheap and vulgar mostly liked by the lower caste people but disliked by the higher-caste people. The *Bhands* who perform the *bharainti* are thus treated low. The *vadya Nakkara* is also treated low in the society because it is a polluting instrument being covered with the hide of the cow. Therefore, the Chamar, who is generally handle it, have a low position in the society. Despite, the Chamar of Banaras who handle the *vadya Nakkara* have their *jajmani* relationship with other caste groups because they are called necessarily

on the occasion of *vaivahik anushtan* (marriage ritual) where they are duly involved in the *anushtan* for playing the Nakkara. There is at least one specific occasion when the Nakkara is a must. Without worshipping this no other performances can be accomplished. On the day of the *matmangra*, the *vadya* Nakkara is offered the impression of five fingers daubed with the turmeric paste, and vermillion. Rs. 2.50 and some rice are given as *jajmani* to the *vadak*. After worshipping the *vadya* a woman who has worshipped it, will play it first and then allow the Chamar to handle it. This is done with a belief that if the *vadya* is not worshipped and played on, Biritiya, an untouchable minor deity would be pleased and hence would not pollute other gods and goddesses arriving at the house (personal communication from Sudama). Besides the occasion of marriage, Chamars are also called on the occasions of *badhava*, *gangapoojaiya* and so on.

The low position of the Nakkara in the society is further supported by the event that took place with Mangru Dhobi who went to perform *Dhobiau* music with his party members in the house of a Dhobi. He was asked to give his *vadya*, Mridang for worshipping on the eve of a *vaivahik anushtan* when the *vadya* Nakkara was not available. But he refused because he was not a Chamar and his *vadya* was not a *chamrauti vadya* (the *vadya* of Chamar). He felt demeaned to allow them for the same.

The *kajri*, the *birha* etc. are valued much in the culture, originally being religious in character. Therefore, the *kajri*-singers and the *birha*-singers are duly respected in the society irrespective of their caste identification. They are usually called on the occasion of the *shringar* (decoration) of local deities such as Shitala, Daitrabeer, Ballimai, Murkatta Baba and so on, on *satta* (contract) basis to which the people term locally, *laychi*. They are paid at least not less than Rs. 80 and sometime more which is shared by other associates like *dyorhiya* or *bajugir* (Rs. 12 per head), *dholakiya* (Rs. 15) and Shahnai player (Rs. 15) and the rest of the amount is taken by the main singer. Besides, the main singer gets award in cash from the listeners.

Sex Difference

The status of performers further depends upon the type of their sex. For instance, *Gaunharins*, a community composed of females only, are taken as low in society in status. They are supposed to be 'quasi-pros' for there is no *thekana* i.e., *guarantee of their chastity* says Ramprasad of Harhasarai. They can visit anyone's house on contract basis and can be enjoyed. Thus the image of the *Gaunharins* in the society is distorted.

Personal Talent

The status of a performer also depends upon his personal talent or extra

ordinary achievement in the field concerned that transcends not only the boundaries of caste and religion but also the nature of performance and sex-difference. The *Bhands* are usually treated low in the society but there are a few who have been accepted by higher castes and have been given due place in the society. Ajooba and Markandey Bhand were among them.

From the above descriptions concerning the status of performers we can observe that particularly the Chamar, who is given the lowest status in the caste hierarchy in Hindu social structure, is associated with the sacred performance, *vaivahik anushtan*, only because of being a *vadak* of the Nakkara. Thus the *vadya* Nakkara serves as a pretentious mode to associate a Chamar, an untouchable, the impure with auspicious, the pure. Thus he is shifted to use the terms of Gennep (1960) from the "pre-liminal" stage to the "liminal" stage. But this is a temporary situation as outside the occasion he is again treated low and thus relegated to the "pre-liminal" stage. This process goes on continuing. But a permanency in the stage of "liminality" has also been noticed in case of some of the performers of the *laukic* music such as in the *shayri kajri* and *shayri birha*. For instance, *Shayar* Bhairon hailed from the Hela family. Hela is an untouchable caste but he was always paid respect by every caste members both by high and low and socially he was permanently in the "liminal" stage. He had a number of disciples irrespective of caste and creed. Such was the case with a Muslim Julaha. It was *Shayar* Baffat who had a number of disciples from the higher caste groups. His living disciples are Pandit Ramnath Kavi (Mirza Murad), Gaurishanker (Anandi), Satyanarain Tiwari (Bhoalpur) and Ramyajna Maharaj (Calcutta) all of whom are Brahmin by caste. Ajooba Bhand was very much liked by the people of Banaras. Because of his wit, the Maharaja of Banaras gave him a place in his court.

A shift from the stage of "liminality" to the "post-liminal" stage has also been observed. For instance, the deity of the founding member of the *shayri birha*, Bihariguru, is worshipped by the people on the way to *panchkroshparikrama* (circumambulation around a radius of ten miles). Thus, the process of deification is the best example for being in the stage of "post liminality". Some one gets their status during his life time, and some after life.

Place of the Laukic Music in the life of Performers

Music for the performers is a *vidya* supposed to be bestowed upon them by the goddess of learning, Saraswati, only when she is pleased with them. The success of their performance, their memory power, etc., all these depend upon her. The performers also treat their *vadyas* sacred and they worship it before they start performing because the *vadyas* as they say symbolize the goddess Saraswati.

As said earlier, the *laukic* music in Banaras has a commercial base. The case is diametrically opposite to that of tribal societies where the commercialization and particularisation of music are outside dimension of social ideology. Music is performed communally and is a part of routinized life. But in Banaras, music is performed occasionally. Consequently the performers whenever demanded occasionally get a very meagre amount of money, insufficient to fulfil their daily need in a changing economic situation. Therefore, as observed from a number of *kursinamas* collected (vide pp. 261-65, *kursinama* no. I-V) majority of the performers have accepted music as a secondary means of livelihood. Almost all the performers are engaged in different types of professions like rickshaw-pulling, *khoncha*-business, tailoring and so on. Very few persons of the Chamar community who know to handle as well as to construct the *vadya* Nakkara have been found accepting music as a primary profession because they earn money by selling *vadyas* on orders. Only Hizras are exception to the changing economic situation who still consider music as a primary profession because of having a number of *jajmana* and occasions on which they can visit any house without invitation.

Summary

In traditional Indian society, specialization is both an ascribed and an achieved phenomenon. For instance, the Chamar is culturally ascribed to handle the *vadya* Nakkara on auspicious occasions. The Ahir, Dhobi etc, have musical culture of their own in which there is enough scope for individual achievement.

Specialization stands both for conscious and unconscious process in which an individual or a group of individuals acquires special skill or knowledge through formal or informal training. For instance, *shayri* is a field of specialization in the *laukic* music of Banaras in which the knowledge in the *sahityik kajri* (a variety of the *shayri kajri*) is acquired through formal training and codified rule whereas the knowledge in the *khari rangat ki kajri* (a variety of the *shayri kajri*) is acquired without any formal training and codified rule. Further, specialization is a selective process. For instance, if a person has specialized in the field of the *shayri kajri*, it does not mean that he has a command over all of its aspects. The process of specialization, thus, appears a very complex phenomenon and the complexity in it is intensified through the creative process of development of new styles, in both the *laukic* and the *shastric* music and literature.

In the field situation we find that the concept of specialization has penetrated into those fields of the *laukic* music where there is either individualization or commercialization. However, the idea of specialization is ruled out where the *laukic* music is still a communal phenomenon. For instance, the dance of Ahir, Khatik, Chamar etc.

The term specialist even in the field situation is used in specific connotation. The specialist is he who is above par. It needs a qualitative explanation to convey its true sense. For instance, a specialist in the *laukic* music is characterised by *adakari*, *kokila kanth*, *lachak*, etc. But the parameters used to judge a specialist in the field of the *laukic* music sometimes operate in contrast with that of the *shastric* music. For instance, whereas the *adakari* (bodily expression) in the *laukic* music is the merit of a singer but it is at the sametime, demerit for a singer of the *shastric* music. However, some of the attributes both in the *laukic* and the *shastric* music are of common value.

In the field situation we have observed that the status of performers depends upon (1) the nature of musical performance. For instance, the *bharainti* (the act of buffonery) is supposed to be a performance of low grade and thus its performers, *Bhands*, are treated low in the society even if a person of high caste is involved in the act of *bharainti*. In contrast, the *kajri* singers or the *birha* singers are paid much respect in the society irrespective of the caste and religion. (2) the sex difference. For instance, the *Gaunharins* who visit on contract basis are treated low because of their doubtful chastity. (3) the talent or achievement of an individual performer that transcends the boundaries of caste and religion and finally upon (4) the context or situation. For instance, a Chamar in the pre-liminal stage is treated low. But when there is a marriage ceremony his service as a *vadak* of the Nakkara is sought in the society as without his involvement in the ritual performance, it is thought incomplete. Thus in the liminal stage, his importance is realized in the society. But this is a temporary situation as outside occasion he is reverted back to his original position.

It has further been observed that when a performer reaches the post-liminal stage, he undergoes the process of deification. Bihariguru, a *birahiya*, is worshipped by the people of Banaras on the way to the *panch-kroshiparikrama* (circumambulation around a radius of ten miles).

Music is generally thought of a *vidya* and is treated sacred by its performers. Its performance is, however, occasional. It serves as a means of livelihood ; for some as a primary and for some as a secondary.

Vadyas of Banaras

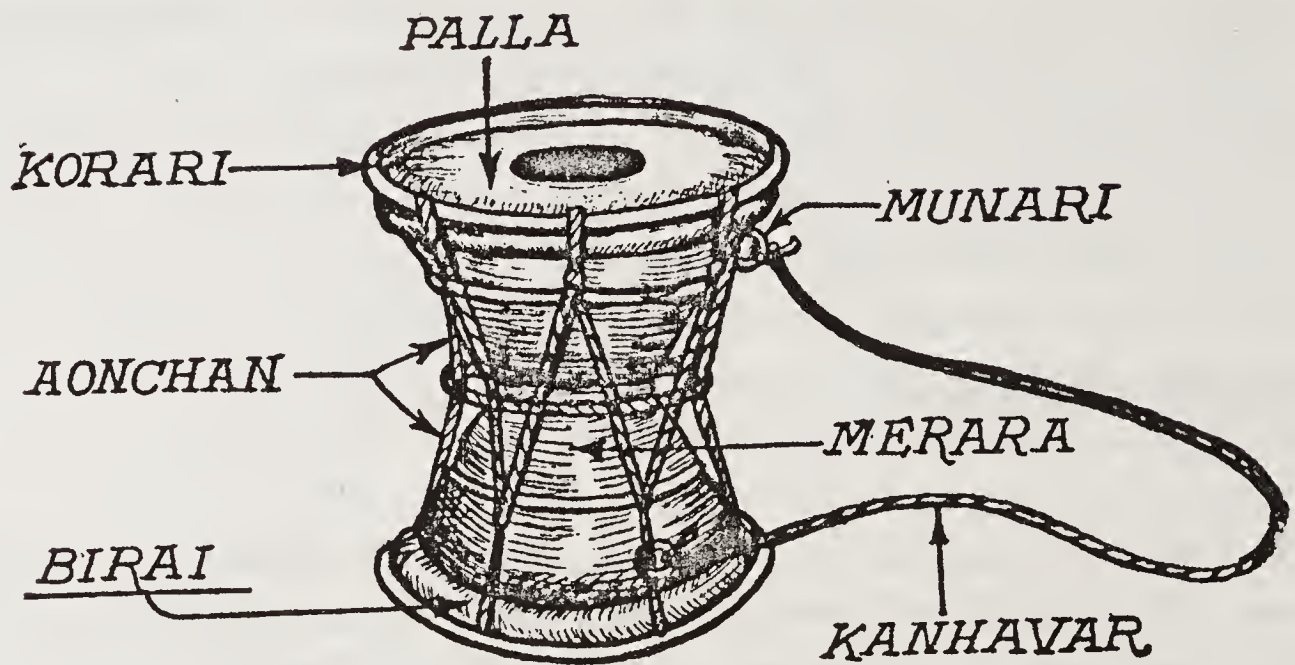
In the preceding chapter we have seen that specialization is a selective process. We also found that there may not be a 'universal parameter' to judge a specialist. It should not only be culture specific but also level specific. Besides, we have also noted that the status of performers is dependent upon the nature of musical performance, the difference in sex, personal talent and situation.

In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to discuss *vadyas* prevalent in Banaras with their historical background. Further, their association with different caste groups, their construction and nomenclature and the nature of rhythms produced will also be discussed and evaluating the extent to which they help in understanding certain aspects of the *Banarasi* culture.

In Banaras, there are varieties of *vadyas* like Dholak, Huduk, Mridang, Tabla, etc, among *anvaddha vadyas* (membranophones); Bansuri, Shehnai, Simha, etc, among *sushir vadyas* (aerophones); Chhar, Jhanjh, Kartal, Manjira, etc., among *ghana vadyas* (autophones) and Ektara, Sarangi, Sitar, etc; among *tat vadyas* (chordophones). But under this head, the *vadyas* which are especially used by particular caste groups in Banaras shall be discussed in detail. For instance, the *vadyas* Huduk, Kartal, Mridang and Nakkara are said to be culturally associated with Kahars, Ahirs, Dhobis and Chamars respectively. The *up-vadyas* like Dafla, jori, Kasavar being associated with the main *vadyas* like Huduk, Mridang and Nakkara respectively have also been included for discussion. The *vadya* Dholak being very popular in a number of groups irrespective of caste and sex, also requires justice. A description of each *vadya* is given below.

1. Huduk

Huduk or Hudukka is presumably one of the oldest *vadyas* of India which finds references in musical literatures. It has been treated with special attention by Sarangdev (13th century A.D) in his book *Samgit Ratnakar* (vide chapter, 6th *vadyodhyay*). From his description concerning its *hasta patah* (fingering technique) such as *ullol*, *panyantar*, *nirghosh*, *khand kartari*, etc; (*ibid* : 574-575) and its *lakshnam* (characteristics) (*ibid* : 608)



HUDUK

Fig. 1. Sketch of a Huduk



Fig. 2. A posture of handling Huduk

it appears that the Huduk had been a fullfledged *shastric vadya* during his time. Now in Banaras and its adjacent districts such as Gazipur, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and so on it is treated as a *laukic vadya* being associated with specific caste groups such as Gonrh, Kahar, Mallah and Musahar. There is a general consensus that the Huduk is a *vadya* of Kahar. A Kahar of Kabir Chaura of Banaras assumes its association with his caste group in terms of a divine-gift. He believes that the Lord Shiva assigned the playing of the Huduk to the ancestors of his caste.

Construction and Nomenclature of Different Parts

Huduk is a *dvimukhi vadya* (two faced musical instrument) found in different sizes. Its main body, *merara* (7.5" height or more), imported from Gorakhpur, costs about Rs. 8 to 10. It is made either of the *bijaysar* (a kind of large forest tree), *gambhar* (a kind of large tree), *kathal* (jack-tree), *madar* (*calotropis gigantea*), *mahua* (*basia latifolia*) or *am* (mango-tree). The *bijaysar* and the *gambhar* are supposed to be superior to others in producing good sound. The two ends of the *merara* are bowl-shaped (4.5" and 4.7" diam. respectively or more) and hollowed throughout (known as *garabh* meaning embryo). The middle part of the *merara* is cylindrical (5.5" circumference or more) and has a small node near it.

Each end of the *merara* is covered with a detachable circular cover, *palla* (7.2" diam or more) made of the skin of a goat and wrapped over a circular stick, *korari* (border). The *korari* is made either of the cane, oleander or *dhaura* (a plant-type). Each *palla* costs about Rs. 1 to 2 and is available in the city itself. The two *birai-s* (ring made from rags) are put inside the *pallas*. The threads with which the two *pallas* are tightened with each other from one end to the other is known as *aonchan*. Two metallic rings with which the *kanhavar* (a thick thread tied to hang on the shoulder) is tied, are termed as *munari*.

The cost of the *vadya* Huduk varies from size to size. The medium size Huduk costs about Rs. 12 to 15. Sometime a *vadak* (player) of the Huduk is found decorating his *vadya* with artificial pearls and painting the body with different colours in order to create an aesthetic appeal among the listeners. The cost of the decorated *vadya* may range from Rs. 10 or 15.

Technique of Handling

Though the Huduk is a *dvimukhi vadya* yet only one side of it is used to produce the desired sound. While playing in standing posture, a *vadak* hangs it on his left shoulder. He keeps holding the middle part of it by his left hand in an inclined position. The *bols* (musical beats) are produced by the right hand fingers. The fingers first and third are frequently used like that of the Tabla players of Banaras which is a major criterion to distinguish the *baj* (style of handling) of Banaras from that of others. As for instance, in Delhi *baj* the first and the second (middle) fingers are commonly used to emit the *bols* on the Tabla (personal communication from Sharda Maharaj). Sometimes, the Huduk has been found to be placed between knees while sitting and handling it by both, the right and the left hand fingers simultaneously. It has also been observed that the Huduk is handled with the knot of a napkin or any other cloth.

Bols of the Huduk

Bols of the Huduk played first are known as *parh* or *daur* on which a dancer dances to the rhythm. The playing of the *parh* is the main item of the performance, a fragment of which is repeated while playing during a song recital or drama. A *vadak* produces the *bols* on the Huduk without having the knowledge of a defined fingering-technique. The *bols* played on the Huduk are often composed of either three, four or five beats patterns that are repeated twice or more. It means that the *vadaks* usually think in terms of rhythmic phrases of patterns that are generally either of three, four or five beats. As *vadaks* of the Huduk tend to repeat each beat pattern in multiples of two, three, seven or nine, it appears that metres of the *bols* are not cyclic but additive.

Following are the *bols* uttered by Vishvanath Kahar of Kabir Chaura.

Rhythmic Division = 4/4

Tiri skka dah dah
Tiri dah dah dah
Tiri nik dah dah
Dah dah dah dah
Dat tah dah ta
Buja rida hij ra
Tirdah stir dah dah

tiri skka dah dah
tiri dah dah dah
tiri nik dah dah
dah dah dah dah
rhith tah dah s
buja rida hij ra
tirdah stir dah dah

Rhythmic Division = 3/3

Tub bak tah
Pinn hach kar
Tir nik dah

tub bak tah
pinn hach kar
tir nik dah

Rhythmic Division = 2/3/2/3

Tir nik tir nik dah

tir nik tir nik dah

Rhythmic Division = 4/4

Tiri kkada hih dah
Tiri kkada hik dah
Bhita risa yata pur
Charhi sjau sna pe

dat tah dah s
tiri kkada hik dah
buja rida hija ra
charhi sajau sna pe

Rhythmic Division = 3/3

Dat tarhi s
Dat ta s

dat tarhi s
dah ta s etc ;

From the observation of the *bols* given above it is found out that sometimes musical codes meaningless syllables are replaced by linguistic codes (meaningful syllables). For instance,

- (1) *Bhita risa yat pur* *buja rida hija ra*

(Inside Sayatpur ; scorched vagina, you eunuch).

(2) *Charhi sjau sna pe* (On whom I ride), (3) *Bade sdi na par mah gu ay lan* (Mahgu came after a long time) and (4) *Dahi gur le le* (Take curd and raw sugar). Each linguistic code represents a communicative event. For instance, the linguistic code (1) is communicative of a quarelling scene occurring usually between a wife and a husband inside a house in which a lady abuses her husband calling him *dahijara* (eunuch) and in reply the husband calls her *bujaro* (scorched vagina). The linguistic codes (2), (3) and (4) are communicative of sexual-intercourse, teasing to a guest coming after a long-time and giving of curd and raw-sugar to a crying child by his grand-mother respectively. Here from the discussion of the linguistic codes, it appears that the replacement of musical codes by linguistic codes may be regarded as a shift from abstraction to concretization. A reverse principle may also be established if the musical codes are treated as behavioural codes.

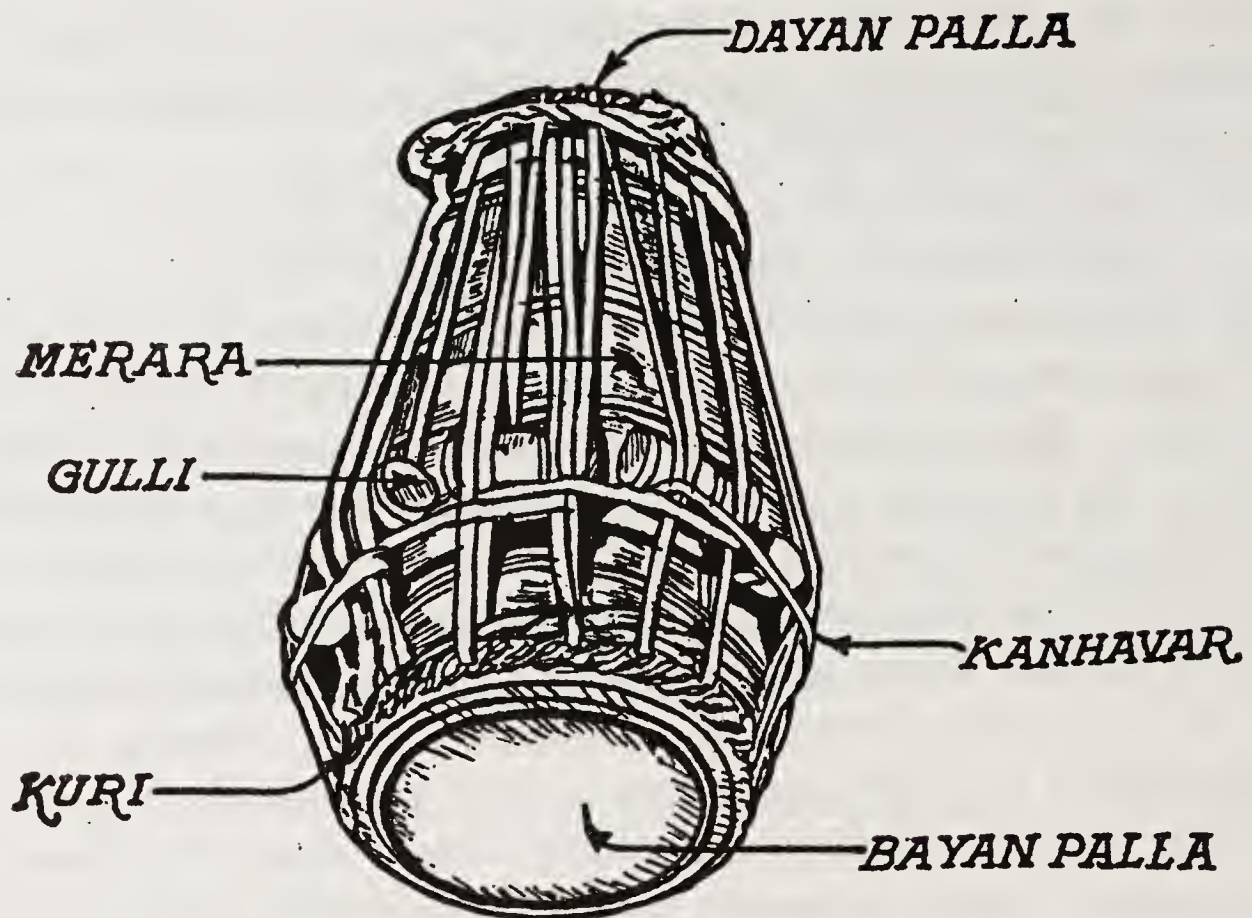
2. Jori

Jori (cymbals), Jhal and Manjira, these three terms are synonymously used for a circular metallic *vadya* usually accompanied to the *vadya* Huduk. It serves as a chairman's gavel when the Huduk is handled during dance performed by Kahars. Therefore, its function is to keep the time-unit accurate. One side of a Jori has a cavity, naturally the opposite side of it is elevated. This elevated part has a hole in its middle that is meant for passing threads to hold them. The size and the weight of a Jori vary from 2" to 6" diameter and a hundred gram to a kilogram respectively. The Jori of small size is usually handled by ladies of all castes in accompaniment to the *vadya* Dholak which we shall discuss later. The cost of the Jori varies according to its weight.

3. Mridang

Mridang and Pakhavaj, these two words are synonymously used for a single kind of *vadya*. It has been one of the oldest *vadyas* of India which finds its illustration in a number of musical texts like *Natyashastra* (ch. 34, page 464', *Taittiriya Aranyak* (1-11-6), *Kathak Grah Sutra* (17-2-3), *Samgit Ratnakar* (ch. 6, page 1025) etc.

It has been of three types as given in the old Indian texts : *haritaki* (myrobolan), *yavakriti* (barley shaped) and *gopuchhakriti* (cow's tail shaped) (Basu, 1971 : 197). It can also be observed on the walls of Bharhut (2nd B.C.) and Sanchi (2nd B.C.) (Chaitanyadev 1974 : 117).



MRIDANG

Fig. 3. Sketch of Mridang

The Mridang is popularly used in South India as well as to some extent in North India. But in traditional set-up of Banaras it is mostly used by a particular caste group, Dhobi whose members claim their ancestral right over it. The Mridang is played by them on any of the auspicious occasion within their caste-group.

Construction and Nomenclature of Different Parts

There is a wooden barrel, *merara* (20" long), constructed either of *vijaysar* or of *gambhar* etc. The barrel when seen appears to be narrowed towards the right side (12 5" long) whereas the left side is cylindrical in shape (7.5" long). The two faces, the *bayan* (left) and the *dayan* (right) (6" and 8" diam. respectively) are covered with two circular pieces of skin of a goat known as *palla*. Each *palla* is tied with a circularly woven leather thongs, *kuri*. Both the *pallas* are further tightened with leather thongs which pass over wooden cylindrical balls, *gulli* (3" long, 4.3/4" circumference). The *kharan* is applied to the middle of the right *palla*. The two ends of the Mridang are tied with a thick thread to hang it from the loin.

The total cost of the *vadya* aries from Rs. 100 to Rs. 110.

Technique of Handling

First of all, the *gullies* of the *vadya* are brought towards the left side

and left at places where the *vadya* is able to give musical sound. A paste of flour is applied to the middle of the left face. The *vadak* hangs this *vadya* from his loin and handles it both with his right and left hand fingers.

Bols of the Mridang

As reported by Ganesh, a *vadak* of the Mridang from Sigra Madhopur, there are altogether seven kinds of hands (seven sets of *bols*) but only two sets of the *bols*, the *lachari* and the *jhoomar* have been made available for discussion. The *bols* appear often composed of two, three or four beats patterns that are repeated twice, thrice, four times or more. Therefore, the *bols* produced are additive not cyclic. All sorts of improvisation during performance, is being made without having the knowledge of the defined fingering-technique.

While playing, a *vadak* either to shift from one rhythmic pattern to another or to finish the performance, plays particular piece of the *bols*, *toran* (break). While a *vadak* tends to return to the original piece of the *bols* during performance he plays a particular piece of the *bols*, *uran* (flight).

Following are the *bols* uttered by Ganesh of Sigra Madhopur

Rhythmic Division=4/4

Lachari :

Initial :

Bhid bhidi nada sng

Bhid bhidi nada sng

Uran :

Tang tang tang tang

Toran :

Dhin tang dhin tang

bhid bhidi nada sng

bhidin dang bhidin dang

tang tang tang tang

dhinn s s s

Rhythmic Division=3/3

Initial :

Dhin nag nag

Dhinn s dhinn

Uran :

Tin nak dhi

Toran :

Dhin nag nag

Dhinn s s

dhin nag nag

s dhinn s

tin nak dhi

dhin nag nag

○ ○ ○

Rhythmic Division=4/4

Jhoomar :

Initial :

Pak mar pak mar

pak mar pak mar

*Pak mar pak mar**Pak mar pak mar**Pak mar pak mar**Uran :**Dhin tang dhin tang**Dhin tang dhin tang**pak mar pak mar**pak mar pak mar**dhinn s . .**tang tang tang tang**tang tang tang tang*

Rhythmic Division=3/3

*Toran :**Dhin nag nag**Dhinn s s**dhin nag nag*

○ ○ ○

4. Nakkara

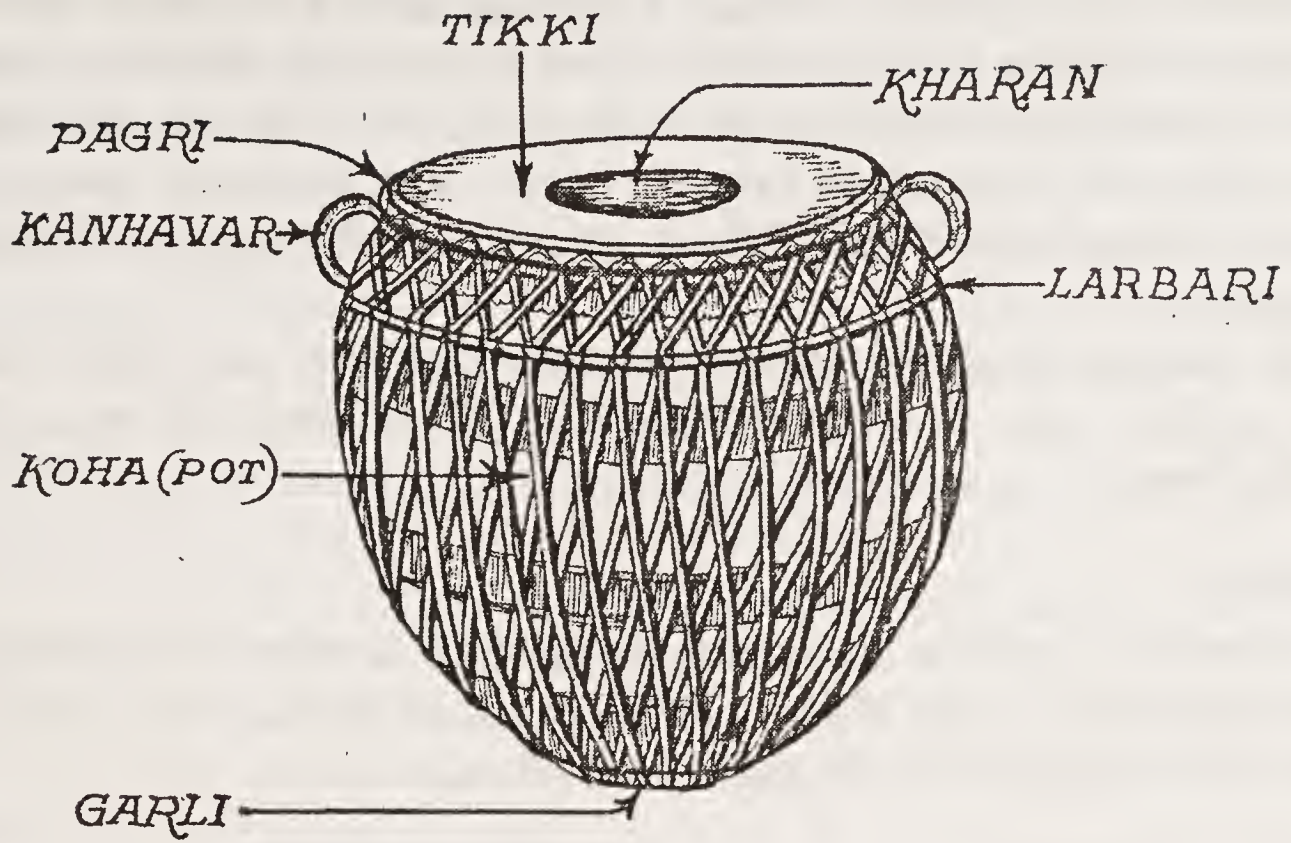
Nakkara, which is more popularly known as "Nagara", is one of the oldest *vadyas* of India. It has been referred to in the texts like *Rigved* (47-29-30-31), *Vajsaneyi Samhita* (2955-6-7), *Kathak Samhita* (345), *Samgit Ratnakar* (part—III), *vadyodhyay*, (page 483) etc. (Basu, 1971 : 201). It was a *vadya* commonly used on the eve of *yajna*-s, war or in the temple.

In Banaras, the Nakkara is still seen to be handled in the temples, on the eve of marriage-ceremonies, and when the wrestling is organised by the local people. The *vadya* Nakkara, generally accompanied to the dances of Ahirs and Khatiks, is handled only by the Chamar. The members of the caste, Chamar claim its association with their profession of cobbling. The Nakkara is found in various sizes. The biggest one is the Dhamsa, the middle one the Nagara and the smallest one is the Kurkuriya.

Construction and Nomenclature of Different Parts

The *vadya*, Nakkara is furnished by a particular caste group, Chamar, exclusively by males. Even among the males to construct it is a matter of skill and requires a lot of training.

To construct the Nakkara, a hollow but tea-cup shaped metallic or earthen vessel, the *koha*, is purchased either from the Lohar (a blacksmith) or from the Kohar (a potter) (height 15", diameter of its upper portion 14.5" approx). The *koha* painted in different colours is covered with the cow-hide known as *tikki*. But before covering it, the leather is however, first of all kept in the sun. When dried, it is chieseled properly and cut to the size of the mouth of the vessel circularly. Several holes are made on the border of the leather. A leather thong is passed through the holes to make the *pagri* (literally meaning turban). When the *pagri* is finished, a paste made after grinding gum, resin, incense and mixing it with oil, is applied to the middle of the *tikki* to produce a reverberating sound. The side where the paste has been applied is turned over and placed on the *koha*.



NAKKARA

Fig. 4. Sketch of Nakkara



Fig. 5. Drummer holding *chop* for beating Nakkara

Another strip is passed through a different set of holes made close to the *pagri* to tighten the *tikki* with the *garli* (bottom) of the *koha*. Again a strip is passed horizontally around the *koha* just close to the *pagri*. This leather strip is known as *larbari*. Lastly, three *kanhavars* (ears) are made by joining the leather strip from the *larbari* to the *pagri* for carrying the *vadya*.

The total cost of the *vadya* is around Rs. 50 to 60 if the *koha* is an earthen one. It costs around Rs. 100 or more in case of a metallic vessel.

Kurkuriya

Kurkuriya is made in the manner the Nakkara is made. The difference between these two is that of size. Whereas the Nakkara, when made, is affixed with a paste inside the *tikki*, the Karkuriya is not.

Technique of Handling

Both, the Nakkara and the Kurkuriya are complementary to each other and are played simultaneously either in a sitting or standing posture. The Nakkara is handled with a stick held in the right hand and the kurkuriya with another held in the left. This stick is known as *chop* (15" long).

Dafla

This is a single-faced *vadya* circular in shape. It is also known as Duf. The name is of Persian origin. It was called *pataha* in ancient India. It has its sculptural evidence dating from Bharhut (2nd B.C.) (Chaitanyadev 1974 : 106-107).

Construction and Nomenclature of Different Parts of the Dafla

To construct the Dafla, a circular wooden frame, the *merara*, is covered with the skin of a goat. The head of this *vadya* is known as *tikki*. The *tikki* has a number of holes on its bordering line through which a leather strip is passed to make the *pagri*. Next to the *pagri* is the *kardhan*. The *garli* of this *vadya* is tied with the help of a number of strips of the leather to the *pagri*. A strip which is passed circularly just close to the *pagri* is known as *larbari*. Three *kanhvares* are made joining the strips from the *larbari* to the *pagri*. The *garli* part is open. A *ghunghru* is also tied to the strip of the instrument in order to emit pleasing sound. The cost of the Dafla is around Rs. 10.

Technique of Playing

The *vadya* Dafla is played on in a standing position with the help of two thin sticks, *phatkaina*, one held in the right hand and the other in

the left. Generally, the Dafla is played in accompaniment with the Nakkara and the Kurkuriya. It is a guiding *vadya*. The change in the rhythmic pattern brought in a Dafla is followed by Nakkara.

Physical Feats Associated with the Nakkara and the Dafla

Displaying of Physical feats or acrobatics are a part of the Nakkara *vadan*. They are meant to create rapport with the audience and to compete in the market.

Following are the physical feats usually demonstrated by *vadaks* of the Nakkara and the Dafla :

- (1) A *vadak* of the Nakkara holding a long and thick stick (around 4' long) beats the Nakkara vehemently.
- (2) The *vadak* first wraps clothes over one end of a long and thick stick and sods it with Kerosene oil. Then he puts light to it and starts beating the Nakkara vehemently.
- (3) The *vadak* holds the Nakkara (weighing at least 5 Kilogram) with his teeth and beats it with the *chop*.
- (4) The *vadak*, sleeping on the ground, traps the Dafla around his left leg and beats it with a long and thick stick gyrating circularly.
- (5) The *vadak*, while standing, holds the Dafla with his teeth and plays it with the *phatkaina*.
- (6) The *vadak*, places the Dafla on his head and plays it with the *phatkaina*.
- (7) The *vadak* places a ring made from rags on a layer of wet cloth placed on his head. He then, puts a piece of cloth sodden with Kerosene-oil and lights it up. Finally, he puts a potful of water on his head. He, then, holding the Dafla with his left hand, dances and plays on the Dafla with the *phatkaina*.
- (8) The *vadak*, while standing, places his feet on the edge of a circular copper plate kept on the ground. He, then, beats the Nakkara or the Dafla. It needs a lot of practice to remain standing on the copper plate.

Bols of the Nakkara

Each set of the *bols* produced on the Nakkara is termed as *lakri* (as the *vadya* is handled with the *lakri* meaning stick). There are a few *lakri-s* which are produced on ordinary occasion. But a few of them are specially produced in *dangal* organised between two Nakkara parties. These *lakri-s* are known as *chhupi lakri* (secret *bols*). Following are the names of different *lakri-s* usually played by a *vadak* of the Nakkara :

- (1) the *dihbari* (or *mata bhavani ki lakri*) (2) the *nautanki* (3) the *bhartalla* (4) the *lachari* (5) the *thumki* (6) the *khari kalaiya* (7) the *jorigada* (8) the *maitri devi* (9) the *khemta* (10) the *barkase* and

(11) the *jhoomar*. Out of these eleven *lakri-s*, two of them are named after song or dance forms, such as, *lachari* and *jhoomar*; one is named after a dance or dance drama, such as, *nautanki*; two after *tal*-patterns like *khemta* and *bhartalla*, three after the wrestling or gymnastic forms, such as, *khari-kalaiya* (a muscle dance), *jori-gada* (brandishing of a pair of club) and *thumki* and lastly, two of them are named after local goddesses like *dihbari* or *mata bhavani* and *maitri-devi*. In any performance the *dihbari* is played first in the honour of the local goddesses but before he starts playing, he remembers his *esta devta* or *devi* to whom he worships personally and worships the *vadyas*.

The *bols* produced on the Nakkara may not be treated as cyclic but cumulative. Besides, a *vadak* goes on improvising the *bols* and changing the sequence without having the knowledge of a defined fingering-technique. While playing, a *vadak* like *vadaks* of the Huduk and the Mridang, uses a particular piece of the *bols* to finish the performance.

It should be pointed out at this place that the *bols* which are written below in the name of different *lakris* are exclusively of the *vadya* Nakkara, though the *up-vadyas* like the Dafla and the Kasavar (which we shall discuss later) are also associated with the performance and play the role of subordinates. As the *vadak* of the Nakkara was not acquainted with the *bols* which he produced, a possible transcription of the *bols* produced by him is given below :

DIHBARI

Tak ti na
Tak ti na
Tak ti na

Rhythmic Division=3/3

dhak ti na
tak ti na
dhak ti na etc.

NAUTANKI

Dha ge na ti
Dha ge na ti
Dha s s s
Dha ge na ti
Dha s s s
Dha s s s
Dhi ra ki ta
Dhi ra ki ta
Dhi ra ki ta
Dhin s s s

Rhythmic Division=4/4

na ka dhi na
na ka dhi na
kra an ta s
na ka dhi na
kra an ta s
kra an ta s
ta sk ta s
ta sk ta s
ta sk ta s
. . . . etc.

LACHARI

Dhin s dhin s

Rhythmic Division=4/4

dha s ti ka

Tir kit ta ka
Dhin s dhin s
Dha s ti ka

dha s ti ka
dha s ti ka
dha s ti ka etc.

THUMKI

Dha dhin na
Dha dhin na
Dha dhin na

Rhythmic Division=3/3

dha tin na
tirkit dhin na
dhinna skdhi knak etc.

KHARI KALAIYA

Dhi gi dhi gi

Rhythmic Division=4/4

dhi gi dhi gi etc.

JORI GADA

Dha dha te te

Rhythmic Division=3/3

dha dha te te etc.

MAITRI-POOJAIYA

Tir kit dhak dha

Rhythmic Division=4/4

tir kit dhak dha etc.

KHEMTA

Dha ge na ge

Rhythmic Division=4/4

dhi na gi na etc.

BARKASE

Dha ge na dha
Dha ge na ka
Dhin s ta ka
Dha ge na ka

Rhythmic Division=4/4

ge na dha ge
na ka dhin s
dhin s ta ka
na ka dhin s

JHOOMAR

Tak dhe tak

Rhythmic Division=3/3

tir kit tak na dhi

5. Kasavar

Kasavar is a circular metallic *vadya* held with the left hand and beaten with a wooden stick by the right hand. It is played in accompaniment with the *vadyas* Mridang and Nakkara to keep the time-unit accurate.

Bols of the Kasavar

The *bols* of the Kasavar are simple often composed of three, four, seven beats patterns that are repeated twice or more. The *bols* produced are additive as noted below :

Dha chik nir

Rhythmic Division=3/3

dha chik nir

Rhythmic Division = 4/4

*Dha dha chik nir**dha dha chik nir*

Rhythmic Division = 3/4/3/4

*Dha chik nir**dha dha chik nir • dha chik nir**dha dha chik nir.*

6. Kartal

Kartal is a metallic *vadya* used in a pair. It is six to eight inches long. Its presence symbolizes the *birha dangal* and distinguishes it from the *kajri dangal* staged in Banaras.

7. Dholak

Unlike the *vadyas* Huduk, Mridang, Nakkara, etc ; Dholak is comparatively of recent origin. It has first been referred to in the text *Samgitopnishad Saroddhar* (14th Century) (Basu, 1971 : 197). In *Samgit Parijat*, the *patah* for the first time has been referred to as Dholak.

Ath patah (dholketi bhashayam vyavhar) (*Ibid* : 197)

The Dholak is generally of four types. The smallest one is the Dholki, the middle one is the Dholak and the long one is the Dhak. The Danka is comparatively round. The *vadya* Dholak is found all over India. In Banaras, it is used by either of the two sexes of any caste. It is usually handled by ladies on auspicious occasions but by males when a performance like *kajri* or *birha dangal* is organised.

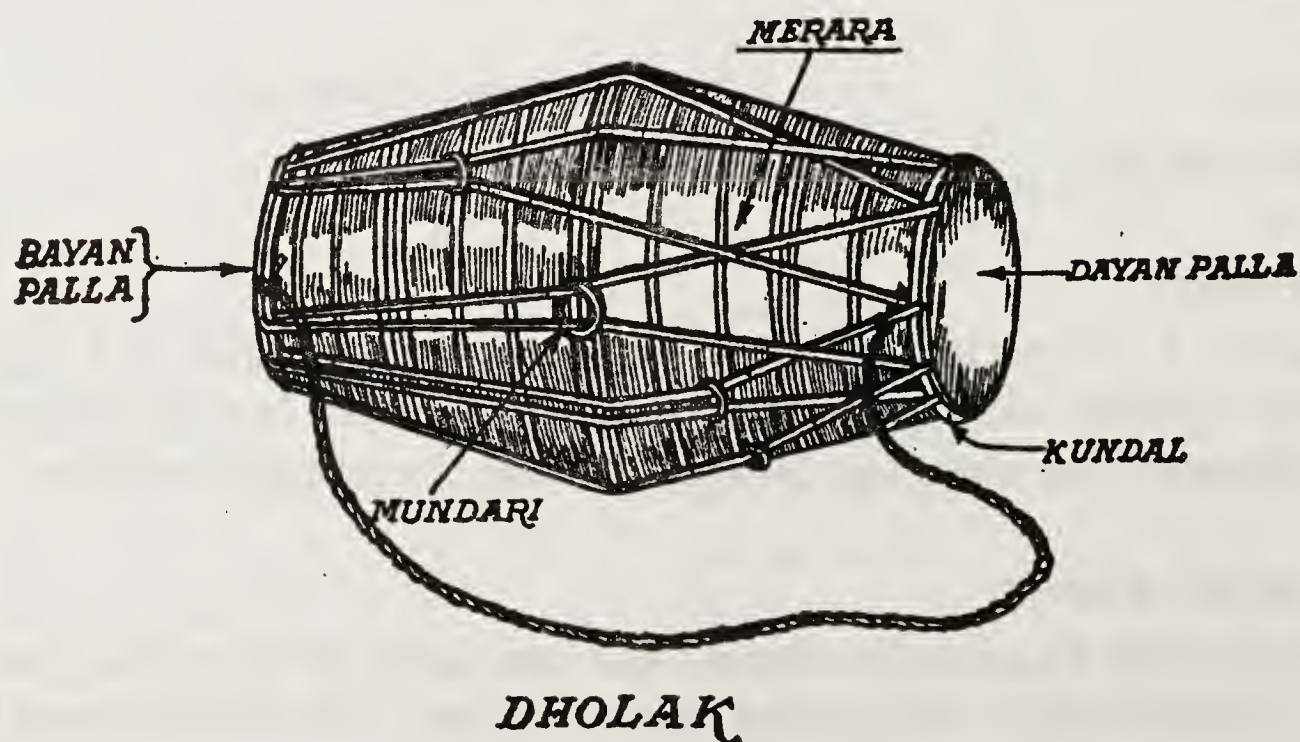


Fig. 6. Sketch of Dholak

Construction and Nomenclature of Different Parts

The Dholak is cylindrical in shape. Its main body *merara* is made of a

wooden block (17" long) hollowed throughout. Two circular bamboo sticks (of 32" and 34" circumference respectively) known as *kundal*, over which the skin of a goat is wrapped (each one is known as *palla*), are fixed with the *dayan* (the right face) and the *bayan* (the left face) of the Dholak respectively. Before a *palla* is finally attached to the *bayan*, the *kharan* is pasted inside. When fixed, both the *kundal*-s of the left and right sides are tightened with a thick cotton thread passing through nine metallic rings called *mundari*. The cost of a Dholak is around Rs. 25.

Technique of Handling

First of all a tension is created in the Dholak by shifting the metallic rings to the left of it to emit musical sounds. A *vadak* handles it with his right and left hand fingers in a sitting or standing position.

Bols of the Dholak

The *bols* played by a Dholak—player correspond to those of the Tabla-tradition, as the many of its *vadaks* learn to play the Dholak from *ustads* (masters) of the Tabla. The *bols* of the Dholak are often composed of six, eight, fourteen or sixteen beats patterns repeated in cyclic order. The *bols* played on the Dholak by ladies are either of six *matras* (3/3) or eight *matras* (4/4). A few *bols* played by ladies being different from those produced on the Tabla are noted below :

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| | Total Beats=6 |
| | Rhythmic Division=3/3 |
| o | x |
| Ta ka dhi | na dhi na |
| | Total Beats=8 |
| | Rhythmic Division=4/4 |
| x | o |
| Kri dha s dhi | na ta ka . |

Discussion

(1) We have observed that the *vadyas* Huduk, Mridang and Nakkara are handled by Kahars, Dhobis and Chamars respectively. The handling of specific *vadyas* by specific caste groups all occupying the low-status in hierarchic Hindu social-structure bears some relevance especially the Nakkara handled by the Chamar. The Kahar and the Dhobi rationalize the association of their *vadyas* in terms of divine gifts to their ancestors. But the Chamar explains the association of the *vadya* Nakkara with its membrane of the cow which can not be touched by other caste-groups. Generally speaking, any kind of membrane is regarded impure and

polluting by higher caste-groups. Therefore, the association of different membranophones with lower-caste groups appears to be governed by the cultural ethos of Hindu civilization. This kind of interpretation raises further question. If the membranophones are treated impure or polluting by higher caste-groups, how do they worship them specially on the occasions like marriage ceremony or birth ceremony? If the membranophones are impure, how do the priests allow them to be handled in temples—the sacred places? It is so, because of its sounds that are considered auspicious, pure and sacred. The sacredness of the *vadyas* are limited to its functional context only. Any *vadya* is not treated as sacred as a torn page of the *Ramayana*, the sacred text of Hindus. The association of these *vadyas* with the sacred however, reflects capacity of the Indian civilization to accommodate the traditions of the socially low.

(2) We have observed that the different sets of the *bols* of different *vadyas* are named and identified after the context with which they are associated. It may then be said that the rhythm in case of the *laukic* music is conceptualized not in terms of the metrical pattern but in terms of the behavioural context with which it is associated.

(3) Further, it may be said that the association of a particular set of the *bols* with a particular set of actones (units of behaviour or acts) are meaningful in a culture. For instance, the *khari kalaiya* is the name of a set of the *bols* but at the same time it is the name of a muscle dance displayed by body-builders with which the *bols* are associated. This kind of phenomenon tells of the interrelationship of the musical tradition with the other cultural traditions. Each set of the *bols* may then be regarded as codification of the social or cultural behaviour.

(4) The nature of the *bols* produced on different *vadyas* particularly in accompaniment with different dance-types have been found cumulative or additive but not cyclic. As dance-movements have been observed guided by rhythms spontaneously, it may then be said that the dances are also of cumulative character. But in accompaniment with songs the *bols* produced on different *vadyas* have been found of cyclic nature as the songs are performed in cyclic order.

(5) From the observation of different *bols* from which the *talas* are structured, we find that a few of them are common to both the *laukic* and the *shastric* music. Thus, the commonness of syllables is a proof that the *laukic* music bears the elements of the *shastric* music and vice-versa. For instance, the syllables like *dha*, *tak*, *tete*, *tin*, *tir*, etc., are commonly found in them. Further, we find that the different sets of the *bols* are composed of two, three, four, five or seven beats patterns. Each of these beat patterns appears to be the representative of the elementary form of a *tal* from which the developed and elaborate forms of the *talas* appear to have evolved through combination and permutation process. For instance,

when the *bols* of three beats patterns like *tub bak tah*, *pinh cha kar*, *tir nik dah* etc., played on the Huduk; *dhin nag nag*, *tin nak dhi* etc., on the Mridang, *dha dha tete* on the Nakkara etc; are repeated twice and four times they give birth to the *talas dadra* (3/3) and *ektal* (3/3/3/3) respectively. In a similar way we can show the development of the *talas* like *kaharva* (4/4), *trital* (4/4/4/4), *jhaptal* (2/3/2/3), *deepchandi* (3/4/3/4), etc.

Summary

The various *vadyas* that are found in Banaras may be grouped under four categories—*anvaddha*, *sushir*, *ghana* and *tat* that include, for instance, the Dholak, Bansuri, Chhar and Ektara respectively. Here, we have discussed only those *vadyas* and *up-vadyas* that are associated with certain caste groups. For instance, the Huduk and the Nakkara are said to be of the Kahar and the Chamar respectively. Here is a brief description of the *vadyas*.

Huduk

Huduk is presumably one of the oldest *vadyas* of India. It has elaborately been discussed in *Sangit Ratnakar* of Sarangdev (13th century). It appears to be a fulfilled *shastric vadya* at that time. At present it is treated as the *laukic vadya* and is thought to be exclusively of the Kahar. The Kahar explains its association with his caste group in terms of divine gift from the Lord Shiva.

The Huduk is *dvimukhi vadya* found in different sizes. Its main body *merara* is made of wood and its ends are covered with the skin of a goat. While playing, only one side of the *vadya* is used to emit *bols*. It is handled both standing and sitting with the right hand fingers, with a knot of a napkin or with both the right and the left hand fingers placing the Huduk between knees. The *bols* of the Huduk known as *parh* or *daur* is composed of either three, four, five or seven beat-patterns. They are repetitive. Sometimes the musical codes are replaced by the linguistic codes. Each linguistic code represents a communicative event.

Jori (Cymbal)

Jori is a circular metallic *vadya* found in various sizes. It serves as a Chairman's gavel when accompanied to the Huduk.

Mridang

Mridang or Pakhavaj finds its illustration in a number of musical texts like *Natyashastra*, *Taittiriya Aranyak* etc. It is of three types from the point of view of shape and construction as mentioned in the text, viz., *haritaki*, *yavakriti* and *gopuchhakriti*.

Although the Mridang is still a popular *shastric vadya* but in the

traditional caste set-up of Banaras, it is treated as a *laukic vadya* of the Dhobi. The members of the caste Dhobi claim their ancestral right over it. The Mridang that is used in Banaras, is narrow on the right end and broad on the left end. Its main body the *merara* is a wooden barrel. Its ends are covered with goat's skin. The Mridang is played on with both the right and the left hand fingers. Its *bols* that are named after the song-patterns, viz., the *lachari*, *jhoomar* etc; are composed of two, three or four beat patterns and are repetitive.

Nakkara

Nakkara, a tea-cup shaped metallic *vadya*, is often referred to in the texts like *Rigveda*, *Vajsaneyi Samhita*, *Kathak Samhita*, etc.

In Banaras, the Nakkara is generally handled by Chamars. The members of this caste claim its association with their profession of cobbling. The Nakkara is found in various sizes. The biggest one is the Dhamsa whereas the smallest one is the Kurkuriya. It is exclusively prepared by the Chamar. Both the Nakkara and the Kurkuriya are covered with the cow hide. The Kurkuriya is complementary to the Nakkara. It is played on either sitting or standing with the help of two sticks known as *chop*.

Another *vadya* Dafla, constructed from a circular wooden frame and covered with the goat-skin serves as supplementary to the Nakkara. It is always played on in a standing position with the help of two thin sticks, *phatkaina*. It is also a guiding *vadya*.

While playing the *vadyas* Nakkara and Dafla, the *vadak* displays some physical feats or acrobatics in order to show his skill. The *bols* of the Nakkara, known as *lakri* are named either after the song form, the *tal* pattern, the gymnastic type, the local gods and goddesses or the type of a drama. The *bols* of the Nakkara are often composed of three, four, six or eight beats patterns and are repetitive.

Kasavar

Kasavar is a circular metallic *vadya* often accompanied to the *vadya* Nakkara or Mridang. Its function is also to keep time-unit accurate. Its *bols* are simple and often composed of three, four or seven beats patterns that are repetitive.

Kartal

Kartal is a metallic *vadya* used in a pair exclusively by Ahirs while singing the *shayri birha*.

Dholak

Dholak appears to be comparatively a recent *vadya* than those of the Huduk, Mridang, Nakkara, etc. It is generally of four types, viz., the

Danka, Dhak, Dholak and Dholki found in different sizes. It is cylindrical in shape and its ends are covered with goat skin. It is handled both with the right and the left hand fingers. Its *bols* that are played by males are influenced by the Tabla tradition. The *bols* played by females are simple often composed of six or eight beats patterns and are cyclic in nature.

The different *vadyas* like Huduk, Mridang and Nakkara are culturally associated with the lower caste groups, such as, the Kahar, Dhobi and Chamar because the membranes from which they are covered are thought to be impure and polluting by the higher caste groups (especially of cow). However, the *vadyas* are associated with the sacred performances because of their sounds that are auspicious, pure and sacred. Thus, the sacredness of the *vadyas* are limited to its function only.

The *bols* of different *vadyas* are conceptualized not in terms of the metrical pattern but in the behavioural context. Therefore, we find an interrelationship, between musical tradition and the cultural tradition. The *bols* used in the *laukic* music are cumulative in nature not cyclic. From the observation of different sets of *bols* we find that they bear the elements of the *shastric music*. Further, they represent the elementary forms of the *tal* pattern from which the developed and elaborate forms of the *talas* have evolved.

Kajri-Geet

In the preceding chapter we have discussed the socio-cultural significance of certain musical instruments and endeavoured to highlight the characteristic features of their rhythms. In the present chapter we will discuss *kajri* and its various forms current in the city of Banaras. As discussed earlier (*see* chapter II, page 17) *kajri-geet* exhibits a wide range of elaboration which is not conventionally expected from *laukic* forms. In this chapter our attempt will therefore, be to find (i) as to whether the different forms of the *kajri* bear the element of universalisation (ii) as to how a form of the *kajri* tends towards universalisation and (iii) as to how the different categories of the *kajri* show a corresponding development in their social organisation of performance, degree of specialisation and thematic structure. Further, our attempt will be to differentiate one form of the *kajri* from another and to find if it has an invariant structure in its different forms.

kajri or *kajli* is a generic term applied to a particular group of song forms recited during rainy season. It is difficult to say how this form of song has derived its name. Speculations can be made. *Kajri* is often referred to the dark clouds that hover in the sky during the rainy season coinciding with monsoon in Uttar Pradesh. The slipper ground due to the accumulation of algae in the rainy season is also known as *kajli*. Since *kajri* song has an association with the rainy season when they are sung, they might have been so named. *Kajli* is also a *vrata* (a vowed observance) associated with the goddess *Kajli* of Vindhya-chal (Mirzapur district). Whatsoever it may be, the compositions of *kajri* describe the darkness of the cloud, the showers of rain and its drizzling sound, the croaking of a frog, the lady—the *proshit patita* who has been away from her husband and Radha who is pining for her Krishna.

The period of genesis of the *kajri* appears controversial. In *Bhavishyat Puran* (600-900 A.D.) it has been directed to recite songs throughout the night while observing a *vrata*, *Kajli Teej* (Uttarparva, *adhyay*—20). The probable period of the *kajri* may then be at least, 600-900 A.D. It may be mentioned that there is a good deal of controversy with regard to the exact period in which the *Puranas* were written (*vide* Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, Vol. X, p. 454). Premghana associates *kajri* with

the goddess *Kajli* of Vindhyachal (Mirzapur district). If it be so, its date comes to around 900 A.D. (Bhadeva, 1967 : 12). As suggested by Kishorilal Goswami in his book *Savan Suhavan* (Introduction, page-Kh) and Manohar Das Rastogi in *Mirzapur Chhavi* (Introduction, Page 1) *kajli* has its genesis during the period of Alha and Udal, the legendary figures who are supposed to have ruled over Chandauli sometime in the ancient past. If it be so the *kajri* may be dated around 1200 A.D. or so. Bhartendu associates it with the death of a popular king Dadurai of Mirzapur which is further supported by Grierson (Tiwari 1965 : 92). The period during which Dadurai died is not mentioned by Tiwari. However he also suggests that the *Kajri* is of recent origin. But the association of the *kajri* song with the ritual celebration authenticates its origin in ancient past.

Whatsoever it may be, the *kajri* as it is the general consensus, has been cultivated in Mirzapur from where it disseminated to other districts of U.P. and Bihar and later to the growing urban centre like Calcutta and Bombay. Consequently each region has cultivated its own forms of *kajri* which in the long run have been patterned and identified after the place where it was evolved. Besides, the members of the respective areas also share forms cultivated in other areas.

Stylistically, the *kajri* is classified into four major categories—the *dhunmuniya*, the *kajri*-proper, the *shayri* or *dangali kajri* and the *shastriya kajri*. The last category of the *kajri* has been divorced from discussion as the present work is limited to the study of the *laukic* music only.

The Dhunmuniya: It is so named as it is sung with the dance *dhunmuniya* performed during rainy season especially on the day of the *Kajli Teej* by a group of ladies in standing posture. In Banaras, the *Kajli Teej* is observed by the married ladies in their respective parental houses. The very day the ladies worship the goddess *Kajali*. The rationale behind the observance is the fulfilment of the mundane desires like the birth of a son, the long life and prosperity of the husband. The *dhunmuniya* has also been heard in the agricultural field. It is regarded as the oldest form of the *kajri*. Here two specimens of the *dhunmuniya* that are sung in Banaras have been selected for analysis. If the first represents the archaic form, the second comes next. The first song, noted below describes a lady who is invited by her parents, brother and sister-in-law to play the *kajri* but she expresses her helplessness as the flood has come in the river which she has to cross. The second song dwells on the theme of a lady who requests her husband for getting her a *chunari* (a piece of colourfully printed cloth).

Dhunmuniya
(Specimen No. 1)

Text :

Chithiya pe chithiya likhi baba mora bhejen,
Kajri khelan beti aya na // Tek //
Kaise ke kajri khelan baba aib,
Nadiya barhal phuphukari na // Tek //
Achara i phar beti kevat ke dihai,
Nadiya dahavat ghar aya na // Tek //
Chithiya pe chithiya likhi mai mora bhejen,
Kajri khelan beti aya na // Tek //
Kaise ke kajri khelan mai aib,
Nadiya barhal phuphukari na // Tek //
Achara i phar beti kevat ke dihai,
Nadiya dahavat ghar aya na // Tek //
Chithiya pe chithiya likhi bhai mora bhejen,
Kajri khelan bahini aya na // Tek //
Kaise ke kajri khelan bhai aib,
Nadiya barhal phuphukari na // Tek //
Chithiya pe chithiya likhi bhabhi mora bhejen,
Kajri khelan nand aya na // Tek //
Kaise ke kajri khelan bhauji aibai
Nadiya barhal phuphukari na // Tek //
Achara i phar nand kevat ke dihai,
Nadiya dahavat ghar aya na // Tek //

Translation :

My father sends me letter after letter
Come to play the *kajri*, O daughter !
How can I come to play the *kajri*, O father !
The river is menacingly overflowed.
Let a piece of your *saree*,
Serve the purpose of a sail
For the boat,
That may bring you to me.
My mother sends me letter after letter
Come to play the *kajri*, O daughter !
How can I come to play the *kajri*, O mother !
The river is menacingly overflowed.
Let a piece of your *saree*,
Serve the purpose of a sail
For the boat,
That may bring you to me.

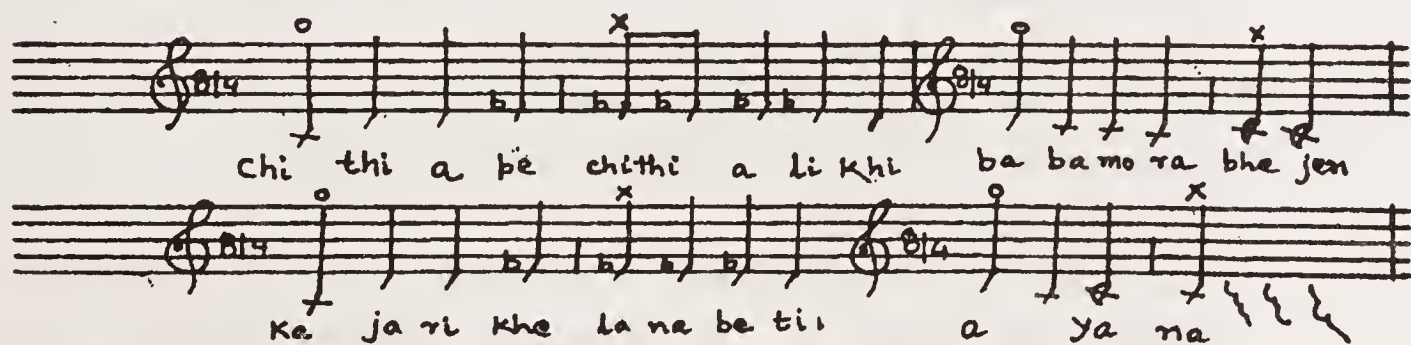
My brother sends me letter after letter
 Come to play the *kajri*, O sister !
 How can I come to play the *kajri*, O brother !
 The river is menacingly overflowed.
 Let a piece of your *saree*,
 Serve the purpose of a sail
 For the boat,
 That may bring you to me.

My *bhabhi* (sister-in-law) sends letter after letter
 Come to play the *kajri*, O *nanad* (sister-in-law) !
 How can I come to play the *kajri*, O *bhabhi* !
 The river is menacingly overflowed.
 Let a piece of your *saree*,
 Serve the purpose of a sail
 For the boat,
 That may bring you to me.

Notation No. 1

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4



Musical Analysis

The *dhunmuniyan kajri* is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is slow. The notes of the song notated are CDE^b belonging to the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 1, C is the starting as well as the ending note. There is much duration on C. D is repetitive. No clear stress note or the empty note is found.

The movement of this design is $CDE^b DC$. However, it does not cover even one half of the octave. Under such circumstance it is very difficult to ascertain to which basic musical scale this design belongs and to which melodic pattern it resembles. This specimen has the possibility of falling within the genera scales $CDE^b FGAB^b$, $CDE^b FGA^b B^b$ or others and of resembling the melodic patterns such as the *pilu*, *dhanasri*, *vagiswari*, *suha*, *sarang*, *bhimpalasi*, *gandhar*, *jaunpuri* and *desi*. In fact, this specimen does not represent any stable form of melodic pattern but even then the use of a limited number of notes has created an aesthetic appeal equally among the musicians and untrained listeners.

Dhunmuniya
(Specimen No. 2)

Text :

Hans Ke nar kahe balam se
Chunar mor da chhapvai // Tek //
Pahle chhapa Kunvar Kanhai
Duje baldev ka bhai,
Teeje tin lok ka chhaya,
Da chhapvai ho balamu //Uran//
Chhauthe chhap shri bhagvan,
Panchven ath bhuji maharani,
Chhathe nirankar bhagvan,
Da chhapbai ho balamu //Uran//

Translation :

The lady smilingly tells her husband
Get my *chundari* (a piece of cloth) colourfully printed.
The first print on it should be that of Kunvar Kanhai
(Lord Krishna)
Second that of the brother Baldev,
Third, the images of the three *lok* (worlds)
Fourth, print should be that of Shri Bhagvan
(the supreme being)
And then, that of eight handed Maharani (the great goddess)
Lastly, the image of the formless Bhagvan (God).

Notation No. 2

Total Beats=8
Rhythmic Division=4/4

I

Han sa ke na r ka he ba la ma se

II

chu na r mo r da chha pa va

pa. h le chha pa kun va r ka nha i

Du je ba l de v ka bha i

Du je ba l de v ka bha i

Musical Analysis

The specimen, as apparent from the notation, is an elaboration of the first one. Apart from the notes CDE, the additional notes used in this design are EFG. It is also sung in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is also slow. The notes of the song belong to the lower and middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 1, C is the starting as well as the ending note. No clear stress or empty note is located. There is much duration on the note, C. The note D is repetitive. It is observed that the note D when comes to F, leaves F in ascending order. E is used in descending order while returning from F. Although the movement of notes is restricted to the first half of the octave, it approaches a stable form of universalized melodic pattern, the *raga jhinjhoti* (CDEFGA(B^b) B^c/C^bB^bAGFEDC) where the note E^b is occasionally employed (Kashinath 1943:47). In fact, even with the limited number of notes, the design operates within the rigid frame of the *raga* music. There is also a general consensus among the musicians that *raga jhinjhit* is basically derived from the folk based melodies (personal communication Prof. Nimaichand Bural, Pandit Rajeswar Acharya and Sri Ranadhir Roy).

The Kajri-proper

Unlike *dhunmuniya*, the *kajri*-proper is divided into two—the *Banarasi kajri* and the *Mirzapuri kajri* respectively named after the places of their origin.

The Banarasi Kajri

The *Banarasi kajri* usually sung by a lady alone or in group in accompaniment with the Dholak has a number of tunes. The two tunes noted below are very popular in Banaras area. In the first song a lady complains of the aggressiveness of her husband. In the second song she expresses feelings of a woman whose husband has been away for a long time. This she does symbolizing the longing of Radha for a union with Krishna.

Banarasi Kajri (Specimen No. 1)

Text :

Lathi bajva tor chalaniyan kachahariya jalana // Tek //
 Agal-bagal do khare sipahiya lehle bhalana // Uran //
 Hath hathkariya gorva men beriya kat-kat jalana // Uran //
 Najani ka bole hakimva jiya deralana // Uran //
 Kahain mahadev sabar kara tun pike pyala na // Uran //

Translation :

Rustic and militant as you are,
 You are destined to be brought to the court.
 On both of your sides stand,
 Guards armed with lethal weapons.
 Your wrists are under hand cuffs
 The chains shackle your ankles
 That make them bleed.
 I know not what the judge will decide.
 Mahadev counsels patience and proposes
 A cup of wine to be drunk.

Notation No. 3

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

La thi va j va to r cha la ni ya
 ka cha ha ri ya ja la na
 E ri a ga l ba ga la do khare si pa hi
 ya le h le bha la na ho

Musical Analysis

The *Banarasi kajri* (specimen 'no. 1) is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is medium. The notes are CDEFGAB^bB belonging to the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 1, F is the starting note. The ending note is C. There is much duration on A. The note D is repetitive. No clear stress or empty note is located. No cluster appears to have formed.

In descending order F does not come to C unless the note D before coming to C has to cross through E. The movement FEDEDC of this design seems approaching the *raga, tilak kamod* (CDFGBC^b/CBAG (F) EDC). Like *tilak kamod* the design also starts from the note F and ends on C. The repetitive note D, of the design, is the sonant of the *raga*. Further the movement like CB^bAGAGF seems approaching the *raga behari* (CDFGAB^bBC/^bCBB^bAGFEDC), a lighter version of the *raga tilak kamod*. In fact, movements of notes in the design are not within the bounds of any single melodic motif. The notes also move in descending

order and abruptly. It, therefore, would not be justified to analyse this specimen in terms of the rules of classical ragas.

Banarasi Kajri
(Specimen No. 2)

Text :

Mirzapur kayala guljar kachaurigali
sun kayala balamu //Tek//
Sonvan Kithari men jevna parosalum,
Jevna pe lote kalanag //Uran//
Jhahhare garuava gangajal pani,
Paniya pe lote kalang //Uran//,
Lavang ilayachi ka birva lagayo,
Birva pe lote kalang //Uran//
Phool hajari ka sejiya lagayo,
Sejia pe lote kalanag //Uran//

Notation No. 4

Total beats=8
Rhythmic Division=4/4

The musical notation is written on ten staves, each with a treble clef and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are: Mirzapur kayala guljar kachaurigali, sun kayala balamu //Tek//, Sonvan Kithari men jevna parosalum, Jevna pe lote kalanag //Uran//, Jhahhare garuava gangajal pani, Paniya pe lote kalang //Uran//, Lavang ilayachi ka birva lagayo, Birva pe lote kalang //Uran//, Phool hajari ka sejiya lagayo, Sejia pe lote kalanag //Uran//.

Translation :

O *balmu* (husband) : You have made Mirzapur pleasant and beautiful,

But have made Kachaurigali desolate.
 I served food on a dish of gold,
 The black cobra flounces over food.
 The water of the Ganges is poured into the *jhanjhar*
 (an earthen pot) and the garuava (an earthen pot).
 The black cobra flounces over it.
 I prepared the bira (folded betel leaf) putting cloves and
 cardamom
 The black cobra flounces over it.
 I decorated the bed with marigold flowers
 The black cobra flounces over it.

Musical Analysis

The *Banarasi kajri* (2) is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is medium. The notes are CDEFGAB belonging to the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 1, G is the starting as well as the ending note in case of clause I. D and E are repetitive. There is much duration on C. C is an empty note. No clear stress note is located.

C is the starting as well as the ending note in case of clause II. C and D are repetitive. There is a stress on the note F. There is no clear empty note. There is much duration on F.

The clusters in pairs are GG, CC, DE, CD, CB and AB, but DE, CD are repetitive. The movements of notes in the design do not seem approaching any particular melodic pattern.

The Mirzapuri kajri

Like the *Banarasi kajri*, the *Mirzapuri kajri* which is usually sung either alone or in group in accompaniment with the Dholak, by a lady has also a number of tunes. The two tunes noted here are very popular in Banaras city in the name of the *Mirzapuri kajri*. The first song noted below depicts the beauty of a damsel and impression created by her when behaving coquettishly. The second song depicts the wish of a lady to visit her husband's house as the song of a peacock during the rainy season has generated passion and reminded her of her husband.

Mirzapuri Kajri

(Specimen No. 1)

Text :

Gori pitari ka nathiya jhulay ke,
 hanse muskay kena //Tek//
 Unke gale ke godanma, mare yaran ke paranma,
 Mathva men tikva lagay ke,
 hanse muskay kena //Uran//

Choli pahnelu rangil bane jovna navin,
 Rahiya men chalai athilay ke,
 hanse muskayke na //Uran//
 Rahiya men chale u tan, marai yaran ke jan,
 Ankhiya men surma lagayke,
 hanse muskaykena //Uran//
 Kahe babulal nadan kaylu ketnan ke paresan
 Nahin milalu tu gharva bhulay ke,
 hanse muskaykena //Uran//

Notation No. 5.

Total Beats=6

Rhythmic Division=3/3

Go ri pi ta ri ka na thi ya jhu la y
 ke han se mu sa ka y ke na
 Unake ga le ke go dan ma ma re ya ta n
 ke ka ran ma
 U na ke ga le ke go dan ma ma re ya ta n
 ke ka ran ma
 Ma th va men tikava la ga y ke
 han se mu sa ka y ke na

Translation :

The damsel is showering a golden smile,
 While a brass nose-ring hangs from her nostril,
 The tattoo of her cheek,
 Has a deadening effect on her fans
 The *tika* (a small mark) on her forehead is enhancing her beauty,

The damsel is jiggling with laughter
 She is dressed in a colourful bodice,
 Her youth is bursting forth.
 She expresses tenderness in motion while walking,
 The damsel is giving a hearty smile.
 She is walking along showing her bosom straight.
 With *surma* (collyrium) adoring her eyes,
 She is showering a golden smile all a round,
 Having seen her there,
 The simple Babulal exclaimed.
 O beauty ! you have tormented many hearts,
 You didn't even cast a casual glance over me,
 The damsel is showering a golden smile.

Musical Analysis

The *Mirzapuri kajri* (specimen no. 1) is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is medium. The notes are CDEFGAB^b belonging to the middle octave.

As it appears from graph no. 2, E is the starting note in case of clause I. C is the ending note. C, D and E are repetitive. E and F are durational notes. No clear empty or stress note is located.

E is the starting as well as the ending note in case of clause II. E and F are repetitive. There is much duration on E. No clear empty or stress note is located.

A is the starting note in case of clause III. E is the ending note. A is repetitive. There is much duration on A. No clear empty or stress note is located.

E is the starting note in case of clause IV, C is the ending note. C, D and E are repetitive. There is much duration on E. No clear empty or stress note is located.

The movement like ACDEDC in clause I and IV of the design seems approaching the *raga bhupali* (CDEGAC/CAGEDC). The movement like EFGFAGF in Clause II and III seems approaching the *behag* CEFGB/C BAGFEDC). This specimen, as apparent is a blending of more than one *raga* and does not rest on a single melodic motif. It therefore, is not justified to analyse this specimen in terms of any specific classical *raga*.

Mirzapuri Kajri (Specimen No. 2)

Text :

Hari hari baba ke sagarva morva bolai re hari //Tek//
 Morva ki boliya sun ke phatai mor karejva rama,
 Hari-hari deida baba hamaro gavanma re hari //Uran//

Aba deu ave deu beti aghan mahinma rama,
 Are rama dei deba toharo gavanma re hari //Uran//
 Agiya lagav baba tore agahan mahinma rama,
 Are rama umir bital naiharva re hari //Uran//

Translation :

The peacock sings from the side of my father's pond.
 My heart breaks when I listen to the peacock's note.
 O father ! perform my second marriage.
 Let the month of *Aghan* come,
 I shall perform your second marriage
 O father ! hell be with your month of *Aghan*
 O ! my age is gone in my paternal abode.

Notation No. 6

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

The musical notation is presented in three systems, each consisting of a staff with a treble clef and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written in Devanagari script below the notes. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

System I:

Ha ri ha ri ba ba ke za ga r va mo r va bo la i

System II:

re ha ri Mo r va ki bo li ya su n ke pha tai mor kare j

System III:

va ra ma Ha ri ha ri de i da ba ba ha ma ro ga van me

re ha ri

Musical Analysis

The *Mirzapuri kajri* (2) is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is medium. The notes are C DE^bEFGAB^b belonging to the middle octave.

As it appears from graph no. 2, A is the starting note. C is the ending note. Duration is on F. D is repetitive. No clear stress or empty note is located. The note E^b is always used in descending order. The movement like CDEFGFE^bDCAB^bC is the characteristic feature of the *raga*

gara (CDEFGAB^c/C^bB^aAGFE^bDC). This specimen has the strong basis of the *raga*.

The Shayri Kajri

Like the *kajri*-proper, the *shayri kajri* is also characterised by multiplicity of forms and named after the place where it is cultivated. The *Banarasi shayri kajri*, *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* and *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* are the examples.

Though the word *shayri kajri* means *kajri* composed on the constructional rule or formula, it also stands for the 'compositions in the form of a question and answer' rendered when a carousal is organised between two music performing groups. Therefore, the *shayri kajri* is also termed as *dangali kajri* which includes even those compositions which are not based on the laws of composition. Accordingly the compositions of the *shayri kajri* are divided into two-*khari rangat ki kajri* composed in *theth* or in the language of the people without taking into consideration the constructional rule and the *sahityik kajri* (literary *kajri*) composed either in *Khari Boli Hindi* or Persian or Urdu or Sanskrit etc. taking into consideration the formula for literary compositions. As a result the literary *kajri* based on metrics has given rise to countless forms of compositions in the name of *kajri*, few of which are listed below :

kajri of adhar, osthbandh, haftejuban, kayabistar, stan, sharafa ; lalat bandh, kapat bandh, netrabandh, nabhibandh, kamarbandh, shravan, gala bandh, gorabandh, ardhat bandh, jangha, ardhang dhanush banbandh, chatai bandh, charkhana bandh, kamalbandh, shankh bandh, chakrabandh, trishul bandh, tilak bandh and kajri in tomar chhand, totak chhand, druvil chhand, maltichhand, ekang, astring, sarangi chhand etc.

The literary *kajri* appears to have been introduced in the 20th century. Even the *shayri kajri (khari rangat)* appears to be a product of the later half of the 19th Century as there is no evidence of its existence before 1857 (Tiwari 1965 : 272).

The Banarasi Shayri Kajri

The present song noted below is a *sumirni* (remembrance) sung at the outset of a performance when there is an annual decoration of the goddess Shitala. In this song, a singer invokes different gods and goddesses to save his honour in the *dangal*.

The Banarasi Shayri Kajri

Text :

Mujh gayak par karo Sitala dhyan sunoji sanvaliya,
Ter sunat sabki rakho man sunoji sanvaliya // Tek //

Mahavir mastak pe birajo, Balajati tu balon par,
 Naina devi nayan baso, dushman na dekhen buri najar,
 Kamlapati tu kan men baitho sun sun ke khush hoven nar,
 Mangla mukhi tu sada sukhi mukh misron se de tu bhar // Chauk //
 Lo Sarsati svar lake, jibbha pe birajo ake,
 Rakho laj hing laj sabha darmyan sunoji sanvaliya // Uran //
 Gyan buddhi ke denevale, ganesh gauri ke nandan,
 Bhujia pe baitho bhairon bhay na lage agar main karun kathan,
 Pith pe mere parvati, hriday men harinarayan // Chauk //
 Satbhama raho sang men, tu karo bas ang-ang men,
 Nabhi kamal men baso niranjan an sunoji sanvaliya // Uran //
 Sans-sans men shivshanker kailash pati pat rakh meri,
 Rom-rom men ram rame sumiran karte beri-beri,
 Charo disa chau taraf se rahiyo chauki deta hun teri,
 Jatasur jogini se kahte, karti raho hera pheri // Chauk //
 O chand suruj rakhvare, parkas jot kar pyare,
 Barho kalase kar jaldi kalyan sunoji sanvaliya // Uran //
 Dharti au akas sumirte agni aur pavan pani,
 Hos hau tu ae badan pe tetis kot devtadani
 Daintis agotar pichas, ye sab ham par karo meharbani,
 Guru ki kirpa rahe das per sampuran hove vani, // Chauk //
 Santo ke saran manaun dangal men baithkar gaun,
 Bhairon ke talpar rahain shri bhagvan suno ji sanvaliya // Uran //

Translation :

Have a look at this singer, O goddess Sitala !
 Listen to my note and hold up honour of we all, O goddess Sitala :
 Cast your shadow over me, O Lord Mahabir !
 And the goddess of hair,
 Take your abode in my locks.
 Settle in my eyes, O goddess of eyes !
 Allow not the enemy to cast evil eyes upon me.
 Settle in ears, O Kamlapati !
 So that my music is enjoyed by all.
 O lucky one ! you may always be happy
 Bestow upon me all the rhythm and tunes,
 O goddess of learning ! bestow eloquence on my tongue.
 O Hinglaj ! hold up our honour in the gathering,
 O Ganesh ! Gauri's son,
 Take care of my throat,
 Let not my vocal chord be upset.
 Come and sit on my arms, O Bhairon !
 Keep encouraging me while I sing

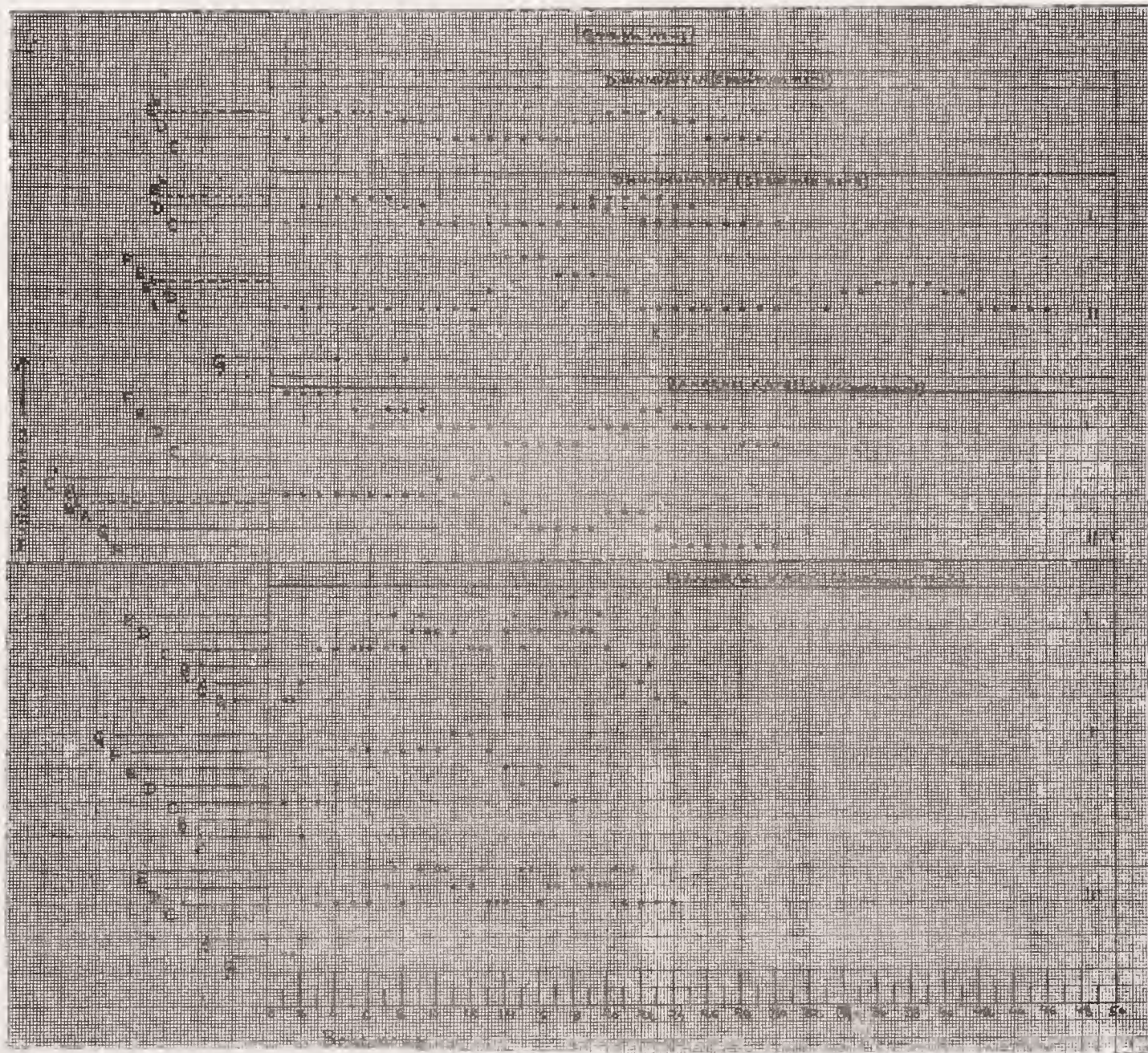
Notation No. 7

Total Beats=8

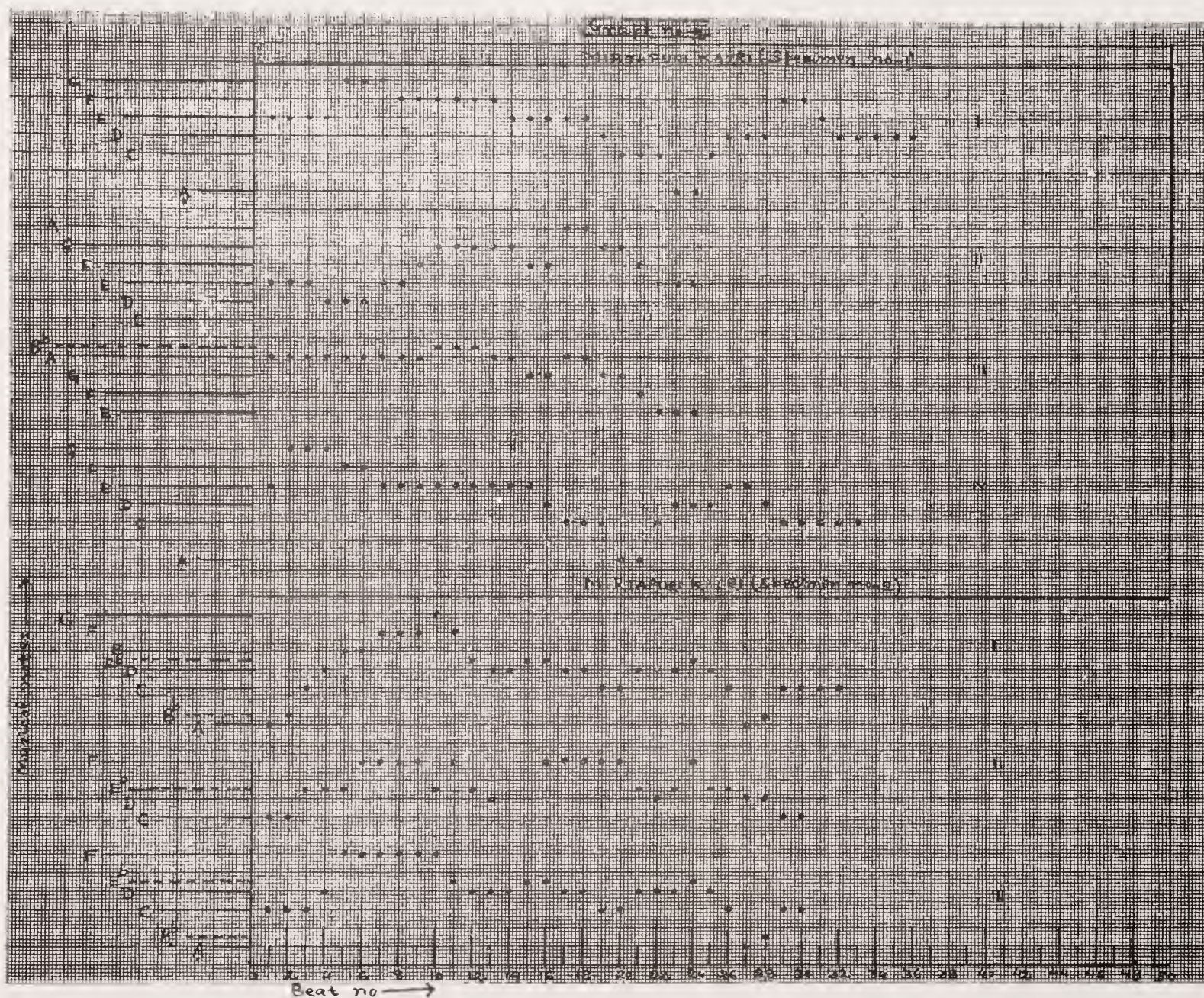
Rhythmic Division=4/4

I
 Aa Mujha yak pav karo gi ta la
 II
 III
 dhyani su no ji san va li ya.
 Te ya su na sab ki ya kho
 IV
 ma n su no ji san va li ya
 Ma ha vi r ma s ta k ba bi va jo
 V
 ba . la ja rin ba len pa r
 Naina de vi na ya na ba so du sh
 VI
 ma na na de kha n lu ri na ja r
 ka m la ba ti tu ka ri men bai tho
 VII
 su ri du ri ke khus sh ho ven nar
 Ma ng la mu mu khi tu so da su khi mu kh
 VIII
 mi so ren so de tu bhar bhar
 lo su r sa bi swa va la ka
 Ji bha ka bi va jo a ka
 IX
 Ra kha la j hary la j de lha do r
 X
 myan su no . ji san va li ya

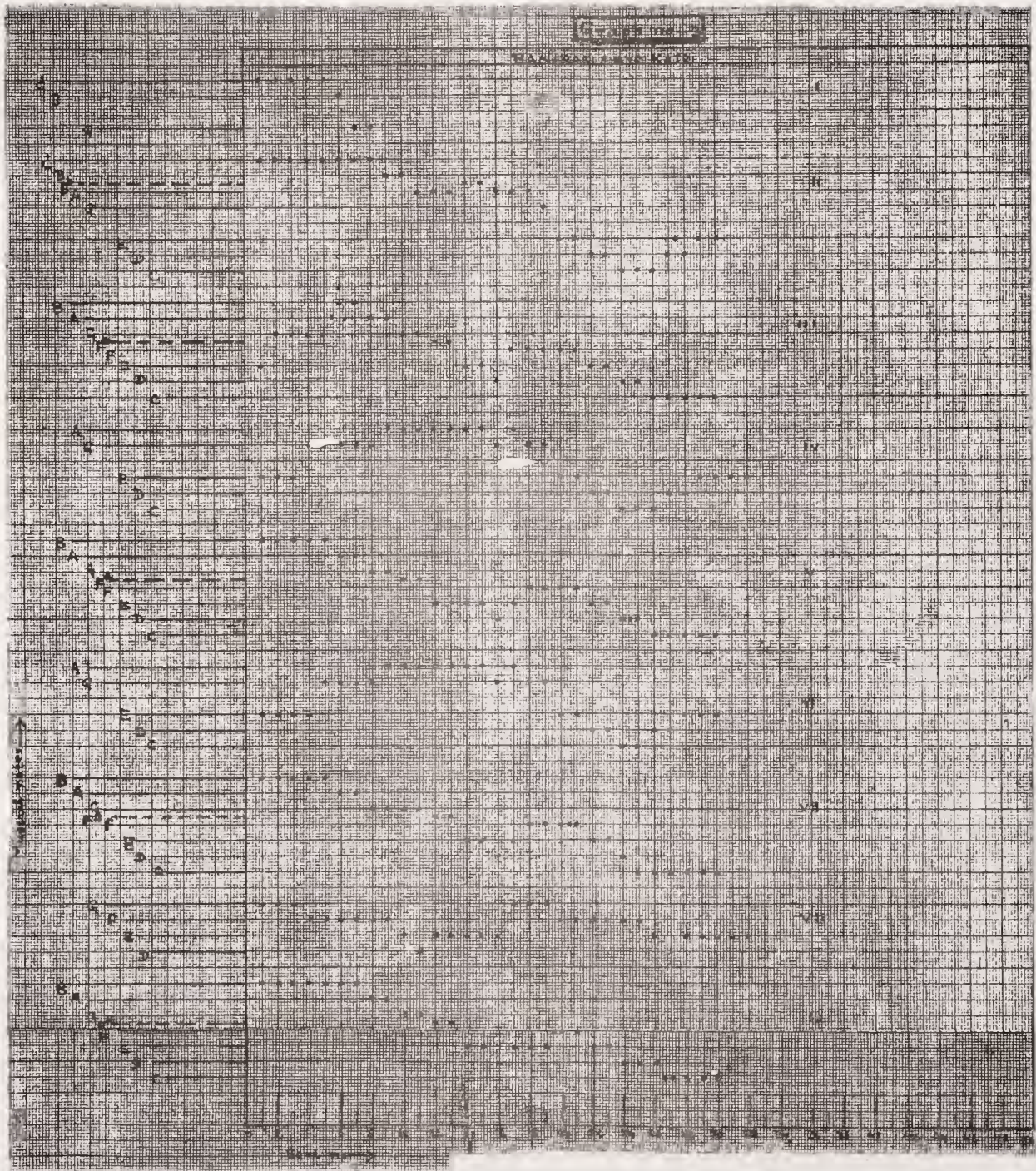
FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



I pray to parvati to be on my back,
 Hridaynarain in my bosom
 Satbhama a constant companion
 Enshrined in my physical shelf.
 Have your abode in my lotus like navel, O Niranjan !
 Be present in my every breath, O Shivshankar !
 To uphold my honour
 And Ram in the every part of my body
 I pray thee again and again.
 Guard me from all directions
 In your honour, I instal the banner
 Let Jatasur ask *jogin* (female mendicant) to keep a constant watch
 On the venue where music is going on.
 O ! the preserver of the sun and the moon
 Shed thy light all around
 Bless me with all the technique associated with thy twelve forms of art.
 I bow before the earth, sky, fire, air and water.
 Let myself be conscious,
 Through the blessing of all the gods and goddesses numbering
 330 million
 Have pity on me, O all invisible spirits !
 Let not be unkind to me.
 Finally let my *guru* (teacher) be kind to me in this hour of my trial
 May my words be fulfilled with the blessings of all,
 Let me acknowledge the gift of the saints
 And sing in a group where I am to compete with fellow singers.
 Lord ! be on the rhythm of Bhairon (the composer).

Musical Analysis

The *Banarasi shayri kajri* is performed partly in the *anibaddh* style (including the *alap* portion) and partly in the *nibaddh* style. The tempo of the song varies from medium to fast. The notes are CDEFF[#]GAB^bB belonging to the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 3, C is the beginning as well as the ending note. There is much duration on the note C rather than FGAB. The note E is repetitive. No clear stress or empty note is located. It appears interesting in the design that the *vikrit* notes like B^b and F[#] are used with their *suddha* notes like B and F in *vakra*. BAB^bA and F[#]EDFED or F[#]EFED or F[#]EDEFED are the examples. The cluster GF[#]EDFEDC that appears repetitive in the design is also the characteristic feature of the *raga yaman kalyan* (CDEF[#]GAB^c/C^bBAGFEDC). The repetitive note, E of the design is the sonant of the *raga*. The starting note, C of the design, is similar to that of the *raga*.

The Kalkatiya Shayri Kajri

Like the *Banarasi shayri kajri*, a short *alap* is also rendered by the singer in the *anibaddh* style in the beginning. But the singer from whom the song with tune was noted did not know it, therefore, the *alap* portion is not notated here.

Here is a composition in the *Kalkatiya* style of singing the *shayri kajri* in which the composer describes beauty of eyes, cheeks, lips teeth, neck of a damsel using different similes.

The movement like C BAB^bAG also repetitive in the design, is the characteristic feature of the *raga alhaiya bilwal* (CDEGABC/CBAB^b AGFEDC). As it appears the motifs for building up this design have been derived from the two classical melodic patterns mentioned above. But these two motifs have been blended and reproduced in a manner that both of them lose the stability of their forms and hence the design approaches the folk forms of melodies.

Text :

Nike nain saris hari nike
 Ba mad bharal amiy ki jahariya
 Dhan tori gajab nagariya na //Tek//
 Kesh nagini gala surahi
 Mridu swarki hai bol,
 Lol kapol suarna kundal
 Ab hil-hil det laghu lol //Chauk//
 Ta hil-hil let labariya na
 Dana darim danta valiyan,
 Patiyan lagi kundakaliya
 Dhan tori gajab najariyana //Uran//
 Man rajan khanjan chanchalta,
 si shobha agar,
 Kachhuk kor chhine barchhine
 Kuchh katar ki dhar //Chauk//
 Kachhuk pai tarvariya na
 Kajrari ankhiyan bich lali
 Jas madut nilam ki pyali
 Dhan tori gajab najariya na //Uran//
 Kalit kakli si komal dhvani
 Adhar arun navpat
 As mukh dekhat ek bar
 Bas Vishvanath bik jat, //Chauk//
 Gabat saras kajariya na
 Jhini nili rang chundariya
 Janu jas yug chaniki machhariya
 Dhantori gajab najariya na //Uran//

Notation No. 8

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

I
Ni ke nai na sa ri sa ha ri ni ke

II
Sa ma da bha ra l a mi ya ki ja ha ri ya

III
Are dhan tori ga ja ba na ja ri ya na
Dhan tori ga ja ba na ja ri ya na ho ki dhan

IV
to ri ga ja ba na ja ri ya na
Ke sa na gi ni ga ha ra hi

V
mridu swa r ki hai
ho lak ho h swa r na kun da la ta

VI
hi l hi l let la ghu lo h

VII
Ta hi la hi l la t la ha ri ya ma

VIII
sa na da rim danta va li ya
pa ti ya la gi kun da ka li ya

IX
Are dhan to ri ga ja ba na ja ri ya na

Translation :

Her eyes are as beautiful as those of a deer,
 Full of intoxicant like essence squeezed out of nectar,
 Glory be to them.
 Her tresses are like snakes,

And the neck is as long as that of a pitcher,
 Her voice is sweet and melodious.
 The trinkets beautifully dance over her rosy cheeks,
 The set of teeth is like pomegranate seeds,
 And the nose-ring like waving flowers over the lips,
 Glory be to your eyes.
 She is jubilant and joyful like a chirping bird,
 Her eyes look like javelin,
 And eyelids are as sharp as the poinard,
 They have the effect of a sharp edged sword.
 In the middle of black soot they are blazing,
 In a cap of *neelam* (sapphire) they are full of intoxicant,
 Glory be to your eyes.
 Her voice is as melodious as that of a cuckoo,
 The lips are as fresh as spring leaves,
 Bishvanath looses himself at such a blooming face,
 Only after he casts a glance.
 He starts singing a melodious *kajri*,
 The fine blue *chundari* waves over her body,
 Like a darting fish in water,
 Glory be to your eyes.

Musical Analysis

The *alap* (in short) portion of the *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* is performed in the *anibaddh* style. The song composition is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is medium. The notes are CDE^bFGA.

As it appears from graph no. 4, A is the starting note but C is the ending note, E^b and G are durational notes. D is repetitive. No clear stress or empty note is located. The clusters in duplet are DE^b, DC, AC, CC, GG, FF and DD. This specimen does not seem to rest on any particular *raga*.

The Mirzapuri Shayri Kajri

Like the *Kalkatiya shayri kajri*, the *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* also lacks *alap*. The composition noted below is a *bayan* (description) of birds in which the composer has tried to highlight the belief that the key of life is in the hands of the Supreme-being.

Text :

Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua,
 Bhare madan men dono karain bihar ho balamua // Tek //
 Yahan ki baten yahin rahi, age ki suno jikirji,
 Ek baheliya ghar se nikla, ja pahuncha us dhirji,

Ek hanth men baj liya ek hathgulela tirji,
 Pari nigahen panchhin par maran ko kiya tadvirji // Chauk //
 Baith ar men yahi raha vichar ho balamua,
 Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua // Uran //
 Bahut der men soch samajh ke yahi akal daurayaji,
 Ek panchhi ke pakran khatir upar baj urayaji,
 Dusr panchhi ke maran khatir apna dhanush uthayaji,
 Khuda ko usne bhool gaya dono par ghat lagayaji // Chauk //
 Khuda ka hikmat koi na jananhari ho balamua,
 Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua // Uran //
 Dekh hal bahehiya ka madin kahe roe ke bateji,
 Chhoro piya ab ais jais ab jan muft men jateji,
 Niche gulela tir sadha hai, upar baj merarateji,
 Niche girun to marun tir se uper baj ke hatheji // Chauk //
 Kya ekdam se ruth gae kartar ho balamua,
 Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua // Uran //
 Sunke baten madin ka nar bola tarap ke baniji,
 Aurat ki hai jat teri tu kal dekh ghabraniji,
 Kal hame jabbai marihain jab hoi hukum rabbaniji
 Bina kal ko maranvala janma jag men saniji // Chauk //
 Vohdin marabai je din puji karar ho balamua
 Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua // Uran //
 Sunke baten panchhin ka tab madad khuda ka aiji,
 Jis jagah per khara baheliya, vahan sanp dikhlaiji,
 Kata sanp baheliya ko tab gasta baheliya khaiji,
 Chhuta tir ja laga baj ko baj turat bhahraiiji // Chauk //
 Kahte baffat dekho sabar ki mar ho balamua,
 Do panchhi ek baith per ki dar ho balamua // Uran //

Translation :

Two birds, sitting on the branch of a tree,
 Were making love with each other.
 Let us suspend this episode for the time being
 and go ahead.
 A fowler coming out of his house, reached there,
 Taking a falcon in one hand and an arrow in the other.
 He saw the birds and planned to kill them.
 He sat down under the tree and thought for a long time O dear !
 Finally he made up his mind to catch the birds,
 He set a falcon for catching one and raised
 Up his bow to kill the second.
 He forgot Creator and thought of killing them,
 But my dear ! no one knows what God desires.

Notation No. 9

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

I
Do ten chi e k bai th pe r ki

II
dar ho ba la mu an

Bhare ma dan men do no ka ra en bi

III
ha r ho ba la mu an

Ya han ki ba ten ya hin ra hi a

IV
ge ki su no ji kir ji

E k ba he li ya ghar se nik la

V
Ja pa tum cha u s dhir ji

E k han th. men ba j li ya e k

VI
ha th gu le la. ti r ji

Pa ri ni ga ten pa n chhi n pa r ma

VII
ra n ko ki ya ta d bi r ji

Bai th a r m2 ya hi ra ha li

cha r ho ba la mu an

Looking at the fowler, the she-bird tells weeping,
 Stop my beloved enjoying, now our lives are at stake.
 The bow is ready below, the falcon is hovering above,
 If I fall down, I shall be killed by the arrow,

If I fly above, the falcon will make me a prey.
 Has God forgotten us altogether, O dear !
 The bird replied to its female partner in grief,
 Thou art a female and get nervous in the face of danger,
 We die only when God desires.
 Who dares to kill one who is not destined to die,
 We shall die only on the fixed day.
 As God heard the birds speaking, his help arrived.
 A snake appeared at the spot where the fowler was standing.
 The snake bit the fowler and he lost his sense ;
 The arrow was shot and struck the falcon.
 So says Baffat, see, how, the patience was rewarded, O dear'.

Musical Analysis

The *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* is performed partly in the *anibaddh* and partly in the *nibaddh* styles. Its tempo is medium. The notes are $CD^bE^bFGA^bB^b$ belonging to the middle octave.

As it appears from graph no. 5, E^b is the starting note and C is the ending note. There is much duration on the note C rather than on E^bFA^b . The notes E^b and F are repetitive. No clear stress or empty note is located. The movements like GFE^bD^bC , $A^bGFE^bD^bC$ resemble the *raga bhairavi* ($CD^bE^bFGA^bB^b\dot{C}/\dot{C}B^bA^bGFE^bD^bC$). The starting note, E^b of the design is similar to that of the *raga*. The repetitive note F of the design is the sonant of the *raga*. In this *raga* the note D is avoided in the ascending tract but this prescription is not followed in this composition. Instead, the note D is avoided in the descending track ($E^bDC^bE^bF$). The movement like $CD^bFE^bD^bC$ is also not found in this *raga*. This indicates that this specimen does not operate rigidly within the prescription of the *raga*. Apart from this, the movements of musical notes are simple and restricted to an octave only.

Discussion

(1) From the analysis of different musical designs of the *kajri* we find that some of them bear the element of the *shastric* music, the universalized melodic pattern. The *dhunmuniya* (CDE^bDC , GC , $CDFEDC$), for instance, resembles the *raga jhinjhoti* ($CDEFGA (B^b) B\dot{C}/\dot{C}B^bAGFEDC$) where the note E^b is also occasionally employed. Similarly the movement like $CDEFGFE^bD\dot{C}A^bB^bC$ in the second specimen of the *Mirzapuri kajri* is the characteristic feature of the *raga gara* ($CDEFGAB\dot{C}/\dot{C}B^bAGFE^bDC$) where like *dhunmuniyan* the note E^b is always used in the descending order. The movement like $GF^\# EDFEDC$ in the design of the *Banarasi shayri kajri* is the characteristic feature of the *raga yaman kalyan* ($CDEF^\# GAB\dot{C}/\dot{C}BAGFEDC$) and $\dot{C}BAB^bAG$ of the *alhaiya bilawal* ($CDEFGAB\dot{C}/$

CBAB^bAGFEDC). The movements like GFE^bD^bC, A^bGFE^bD^bC in the design of the *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* resemble the raga *bhairavi* (CD^bE^bFGA^bB^bC/ĊB^bA^bGFE^bD^bC). Some of the forms of the *kajri* for instance, the *dhunmuniya* (specimen no. 1), *Banarasi kajri* (specimen no. 1 and 2), *Mirzapuri kajri* (specimen no. 1) and *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* do not have any *raga* basis.

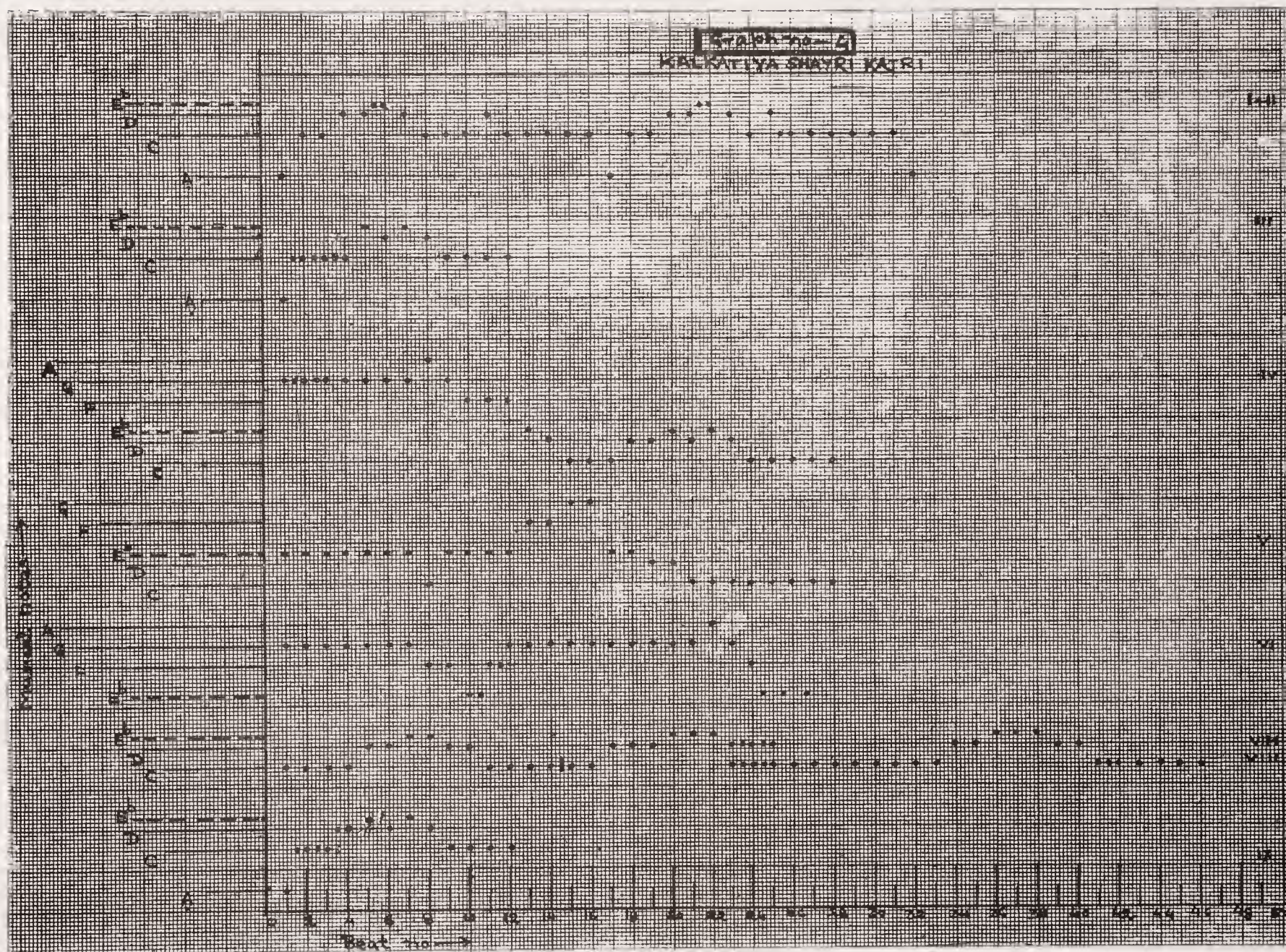
(2) We have analysed two specimens of the *dhunmuniya*, first composed of three musical notes CDE^b and second of six CDE^bEFG. The second specimen has been elaborated out of the first as is evident from the common invariant structure CDE^bDC present in both the designs.

The movement CDFE of the second specimen is the characteristic feature of the *jhinjhoti*, a universalized melodic pattern. Thus, it is evident that the *dhunmuniya* in its second specimen has tended towards a stable form of universalized melodic pattern, *jhinjhit* so far its characteristic movement pattern (CDFEDCDE^bDC) is concerned. The *Banarasi Shayri kajri* is a blending of the two melodic patterns *alhaiya bilawal* and *yaman kalyan* and is reproduced in a manner that both of them lose the stability of their forms. Similarly the *Mirzapuri shayri kajri*, though based on a melodic pattern *bhairavi*, does not operate within the rigid operational frame of the *raga*. Thus both these forms tended towards parochialization. Specimen no. 1 of the *dhunmuniya*, specimen no. 1 and 2 of the *Banarasi kajri* and specimen no. 1 and 2 of the *Mirzapuri kajri* seem to have remained as "residual categories".

(3) We have seen that there are three major categories of the *kajri* (excluding the *shastriya kajri*) that have been developed during different periods of time. The *dhunmuniya* is considered to be the oldest and simplest in form, the *kajri*-proper an intermediary one and the *shayri kajri*, the elaborate form that has its origin after 1857. We find that these three different categories representing three different phases of melodic development show a corresponding development in the social organisation of their performance. The *dhunmuniya* is generally performed alone in the agricultural field during rainy season or in the neighbourhood especially on the day of the *Kajri Teej*. It is however, sung in group when accompanying the dance. The *kajri* proper is sung in group in accompaniment with the Dholok although in private arena by females. The *shayri kajri* is performed before a large public gathering. Further, we find a corresponding development in the degree of specialisation. The *dhunmuniya* being simple in nature is sung by a commoner. The singing of the *kajri*-proper is confined to those ladies who are susceptible to music. The *shayri kajri* is sung by a selected few who know the art of composition or argumentation.

We also find that with the melodic development there is a corresponding development in the structure of the word theme. For instance,

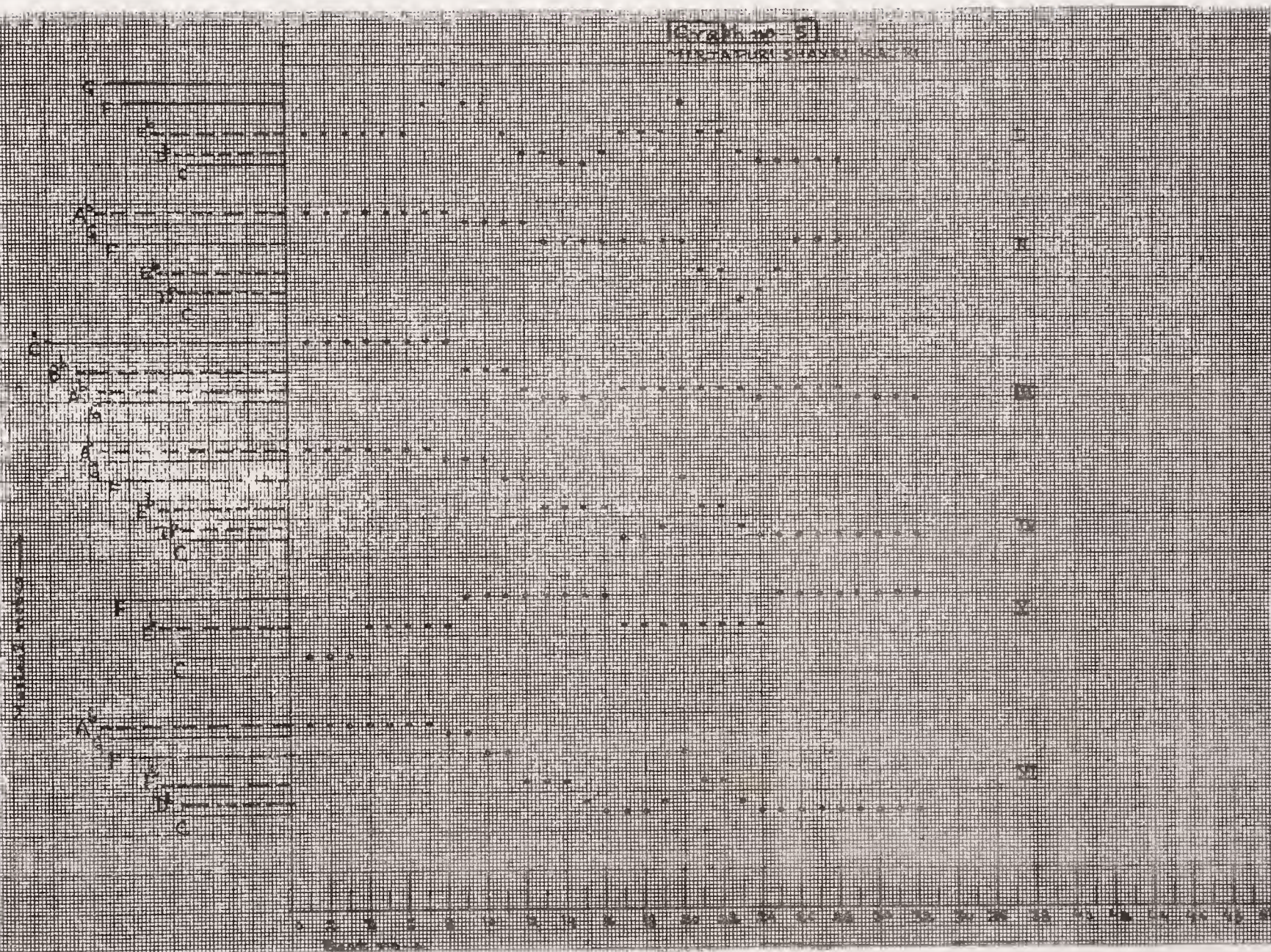
FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS

Graph no. 5

MISHTAPURI SHAYRI KAR. 19



poetic compositions in the *dhunmuniya*, the *kajri*-proper and the *shayri kajri* are repetitive (*tek/tek*), in binary form (*tek/uran*) and in tertiary (*tek/chauk/uran*) or quaternary forms (*tek/chauk/latka/uran*) respectively. The introduction of the *latka* in the format *tek/chauk/uran* however, does not change the basic structure of the *shayri kajri*. It merely acts as an additional element and is specially meant for variety entertainment of the listeners. Either the film tune or the folktune may serve as a *latka*.

From the movement point of view each category has a cyclic movement as it is observed that a singer has to revert to *tek* in order to complete the cycle as well as to start for a next piece of music.

(4) None of the categories of the *kajri* are musically exclusive. But the interpretative style of each category of the *kajri* appears different. The *dhunmuniya*, though recited in the *nibaddh* style, is characterised by the *thahki laya* (slow tempo). The *kajri*-proper, though recited in the *nibaddh* style irrespective of difference in tonal structure, is characterised by the *chalti laya* (medium tempo). The *shayri kajri* is rendered partly in the *anibaddh* and partly in the *nibaddh* styles irrespective of the regional differences in tonal structure. As observed, the *shayri kajri* is elaborative and explanatory type of performance similar to a performance done by a *ramayni* (one who recites the *Ramayan*) who in order to convey the meaning of a composition has to explain word by word.

(5) When different forms of the *kajri* are analysed, no such invariant structure is located on the basis of which the *kajri* may be said to be a musical genre. Only the context on which all these categories are sung may be said serving as "constant" which helps in distinguishing the *kajri* from other musical styles.

Summary

Kajri is a generic term applied to a particular group of song forms recited during the rainy season especially on the day of the *Kajri* festival. The period of its genesis is controversial. It is the general consensus, that, it has been cultivated originally in *Mirzapur* from where it disseminated to other districts of Uttar Pradesh and as a result has been localized.

Kajri is classified into four major categories—the *dhunmuniya*, *kajri*-proper, *shayri* or *dangali kajri* and *shastriya kajri*. The *shastriya kajri* has not been included in the discussion.

The *dhunmuniya* is the oldest in form sung by females either alone in the agricultural field or in group especially on the day of the *kajri* festival. It has its two melodic forms. The first is composed of three musical notes CDE^b, and the second of six CDE^bEFG. Both these specimens are performed in the *nibaddh* style in slow tempo. The movement CDE^bDC of notes in the first specimen does not have the basis

CHART

| Song form | Tempo type | Tempo style | Notes employed | Starting note |
|--|----------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| <i>Dhunmuniya</i> (Specimen no. 1) | Slow | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b | C |
| <i>Dhunmuniya</i> (Specimen no. 2) | Slow | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b EFG | C |
| <i>Banarasi Kajri</i> (Specimen no. 1) | Medium | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEFGAB ^b B | F |
| <i>Banarasi Kajri</i> (Specimen no. 2) | Medium | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEFGAB | G |
| <i>Mirzapuri Kajri</i> (Specimen no. 1) | Medium | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEFGAB ^b | E |
| <i>Mirzapuri Kajri</i> (Specimen no. 2) | Medium | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b EFGAB ^b | A |
| <i>Banarasi shayri kajri</i> | Medium to fast | <i>Anibaddh</i> + <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEFF [#] GAB ^b B | C |
| <i>Kalkatiya shayri kajri</i> | Medium to fast | <i>Anibaddh</i> + <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b FGA | A |
| <i>Mirzapuri shayri kajri</i> | Medium | <i>Anibaddh</i> + <i>Nibaddh</i> | CD ^b E ^b FGA ^b B ^b | E ^b |

III

| Fnd- ing note | Dura- tional note | Repeti- tive note | Empty note | Stress note | Characteristic movement | Resemblance with the raga |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| C | C | D | × | × | CDE ^b DC | |
| C | C | D | × | × | CDFEDC | <i>Jhinjhoti</i> |
| C | A | D | × | × | FEDEC | |
| C | C, F | D, E, C | C | FC | GACDED, C CDFGFEDDC CDEDEDED CBABG | |
| C | E, F, A | C, D, E | × | × | CDEDCA AGFEDED C CBAB ^b AGFEDC CDEDCA | |
| C | F | D | × | × | CDEFGFE ^b DCAB ^b C | <i>Gara</i> |
| C | C | E | × | × | GF [#] EDFEDC | <i>Yaman Kalyan</i> |
| C | E ^b , G | D | × | × | ACDE ^b DC | |
| C | C | E ^b , F | × | × | GFE ^b D ^b C, A ^b GFE ^b , D ^b C | <i>Bhairavi</i> |

of any *raga* but the movement patterns in the first and the second specimens like CDFEDC resemble the *jhinjhoti* (CDEFGA (B^b) B^c/C^bB^b AGFEDC), a universalized melodic pattern where the note E^b is also occasionally employed.

The *kajri*-proper has been divided into two, the *Banarasi kajri* and *Mirzapuri kajri* that are named after the place of their evolution. Two popular specimens of the *Banarasi kajri* that are performed in the *nibaddh* style in medium tempo have been taken for analysis. The first specimen is composed of eight musical notes CDEFGAB^bB. The second specimen is composed of seven musical notes CDEFGAB. The movement patterns of these two specimens do not exhibit any tendency of operating within any rigid frame of a *raga*. Likewise, two popular specimens of the *Mirzapuri kajri* have also been taken for analysis that are also performed in the *nibaddh* style in medium tempo.

The first specimen is composed of seven musical notes CDEFGAB^b. It does not rest on any *raga*. The second specimen is composed of eight musical notes CDE^bEF^bGAB^b of which the movement CDEFGFE^bDC AB^bC resembles the *gara* (CDEFGAB^c/C^bB^bAGFE^bDC).

The *shayri kajri* includes both those compositions which are based on constructional rule *i.e.*, the *sahityik kajri* (literary *kajri*) and which are not based on constructional rule *i.e.*, the *khari rangat ki kajri* (the *kajri* in local dialect). Thematically it has been classified into two—the *kajri* in *labeled* (whose contents have not been derived from sacred text) and the *kajri* in *bed* (whose contents have been derived from sacred text). Further the *shayri kajri* has been divided into three—viz., the *Banarasi*, *Kalkatiya* and *Mirzapuri* named respectively after the place of their origin. All these forms are performed partly in the *nibaddh* and partly in the *anibaddh* style. The tempo varies from medium to fast. The *Banarasi shayri kajri* is composed of nine musical notes CDEFE GAB^bB. Its movement pattern GFEDFEDC resembles the *yaman kalyan* (CDEF GAB^c/C^bBAGFEDC) and C^bBAB^bAG, the *alhaiya bilawal* (CDEGAB^c/C^bBAB^bAGFEDC). The *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* is composed of six musical notes CDE^bFGA which does not resemble any *raga*. The *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* is composed of seven musical notes CD^bE^bFGAB^b. Its movements like GFE^bD^bC, A^bGFE^bD^bC resemble the *bhairavi* (CD^bE^bFGA^bB^bC^c/C^bB^bA^bGFE^bD^bC). The broad features of the analysis of the musical forms of the *kajri* have been presented in a tabular form (*vide* chart no. III).

(1) Thus we find that all *laukic* melodies sung in the name of the *kajri* bear the element of the *shastric* music, the universalised musical mode. For instance, the *dhunmuniya* resembles the *jhinjhoti*. Some of the *laukic* melodies appear to be the localised versions of the *shastric* music. For instance, the *Banarasi shayri kajri* appears to have been

derived from the *raga*, *yaman kalyan*, *Kalkatiya shayri kajri* from *shivranjani* and *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* from *bhairavi*.

(2) Further the *laukic* melodies are found tending towards universalisation. For instance, out of the two specimens of the *dhunmuniya*, the second specimen is an elaborate form of the first which clearly tends towards the *jhinjhoti*, a universalised musical mode.

(3) Three categories of the *kajri* representing three different phase of the melodic development show a corresponding development in the social organisation of performance, degree of specialisation and thematic structure. For instance, the *dhunmuniya* a primordial form, is performed by a commoner, *kajri-proper* falling in-between is performed by those females who are susceptible to music and *shayri kajri*, the most developed *laukic* form, is sung by a selected few who know the art of composition or argumentation. The *dhunmuniya* is sung usually alone, *kajri-proper* in group by females and *shayri kajri* before a large public gathering. The compositions in the *dhunmuniya*, *kajri-proper* and *shayri kajri* are repetitive (*tek/tek*), in *binany* form (*tek/uran*) in tertiary (*tek/chauk/uran*) and quarternary forms (*tek/chauk/latka/uran*).

(4) The interpretative style of each of the categories of the *kajri* is different. The *dhunmuniya* is recited in the *nibaddh* style in the slow tempo, *kajri-proper* also in the *nibaddh* style but in medium tempo and *shayri kajri* partly in the *nibaddh* and partly in the *anibaddh* style. Its tempo varies from medium to fast.

(5) No such invariant structure is located in the different categories of the *kajri*. Only the context on which they are rendered may be said serving as constant.

Birha Geet

In the preceding chapter we have seen the development in the *kajri* tending towards universalization. We also found the interpretative style different for different forms of the *kajri*. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to discuss *birha* and its various forms current among the different ethnic groups of Banaras. We shall also try to find out the distinctive characters of each ethnomusical form in terms of differentials, if there be any. An attempt will also be made to locate the "invariant structure" of *birha*—its distinctive character in case there is any irrespective of variation in its form emerged as a result of ethnicity.

Birha is a generic term applied to a group of song-forms sung by specific caste groups, such as, Ahir, Dhobi and Khatik in the city of Banaras. Garediya and Chamer have also been reported to have the tradition of singing *birha* in other districts of Uttar Pradesh. In Auodh area, a Garediya at the end of his recitation sings,

Birha ki dhun ma Garediya mata,

Bhenri khay siyar,

(The Garediya is intoxicated to the tune of *birha*,

The Jackal devours his sheep)

Birha is thought to be a song of the Ahir and has subsequently been imbibed by other caste groups. Therefore, in Auodh, an Ahir at the close of his recitation, sings :

Birha raha Ahir kai

Lihisi Garediya mol

Sorah sau bheri dihi

Ek bitiva dihi anmol

(*Birha* (originally) belonged to Ahir,

The shepherd purchased it.

He had to give in return sixteen hundred

sheep and his lovely daughter)

Although, literally *birha* means "a song of separation" yet it is also a song recited by the Ahir in the memory of their traditional heroes—*birs* (particularly those warriors who died of accident). *Birha* is derived from the word *bir* with an addition of a local suffix "*ha*" to it (Tiwari

1965 : 235). It appears to be a further proof of the *birha* originally belonging to the caste Ahir.

As said earlier Ahir, Dhobi and Khatik have their separate traditions of singing *birha* in the city of Banaras and they are respectively known as the *Ahirau birha*, *Dhobiau birha* and *Khatikau birha*.

The Ahirau Birha

The *Ahirau birha* is locally divided into two sub categories—the *khari birha* and the *dangali* or *shayri birha*.

The Khari Birha

The *khari birha* is a style of song. It is *dukaria* (duplex in form). Its word content is mostly *shringarik* (erotic) but its melodic content is *oz-pradhan* (vigorous). The *khari birha* is sung without any aid of a musical instrument in a small group usually composed of the members of the caste Ahir only. There is a main singer who is assisted by his associates or listeners who are known as *dyorhia* or *hunkarnevala*. To involve the listeners in participation has two-fold purpose. Firstly, it provides opportunity for relaxation to the main singer as the recitation is very much strenuous and has to be sung in high pitch. Secondly, it keeps the listeners completely absorbed into it. The *khari birha* is sung in a definite posture. The main singer puts his left hand on his left ear while singing it. He and the members of his group remain sitting while singing. There are specific occasions for the recitation of the *khari birha* such as—while grazing the animals, at night to pass the leisurely hours, on the occasion of marriage when there is a competition between bride and bride-groom's groups and on other ceremonial occasions. An Ahir lady has also been observed mourning in *khari birha* tune at the death of her child.

Here is an example of a *khari birha* in which the singer first remembers the goddess Saraswati and then his *guru*.

Text :

Pahile ta sumirila sursati ke,
Jaun diwali hamke giyan/
Dusare ta sumirila apne guruji ke,
Jekar duniya men ghumi-ghumi karila bakhan//

Translation :

Let me first remember the goddess Saraswati,
Who bestowed upon me the knowledge.
Next, I remember my *guru*,
In whose praise I wander about singing the song.

Notation No. 10

Total Beats = 62

Rhythmic Division = 1/1

I
A k hai pa hi let sumi ri la su r sati ke

II
Jau n di h li ha mke gi ya n

III
Kahai dus reta sumi rula ab negu ruh ji ke

IV
A are je dunt. ya me mi t

u age ghumi ghumi na kar chakha n

Musical Analysis

The *khari birha* is performed in the *anibaddh* style. Its tempo is slow. The notes used in this design are $CD^bDEFGAB$, out of which CD^bDEF are of high octave dominating throughout the performance and GAB of middle octave used casually.

As it appears from graph no. 6 the beginning note of the design is C. The song stops at A but tends to end on C. Therefore, C may be regarded as the ending note here. Duration on C and F is much more than any other note. We also observe in the notation that the note D^b has been used as a grace note over C. A slur is also observed from G to C in the second clause. C and E are vibrating notes. The note C appears repetitive. The clusters formed in pairs are D^bC , CB, CD, DF, DC, CA^b and in quadruplets DEDE, DCDE and CDE^b —No clear stress or empty note is located. This specimen is unique in itself. It is interesting to observe that the notes D and E are slightly lowered than their usual micro-tonal values. The specimen does not operate within the frame of any *raga*.

The Dangali Birha

The *dangali* or *shayri birha* is a sub-category of *birha* of Ahirs which was founded by Bihariguru (born in 1857) of Banaras. He is known to have enriched the *birha* with the *nirgun* ideology rescuing it from erotica.

This *dangali birha* is the most popular form of song in certain arears including Banaras and the districts of Mirzapur, Gazipur, Azamgarh, etc. Its singers hail from different castes and religions. In a register

maintained by the "Bhartiya Birha Lok Sangh", an association of the *birha* singers, it has been observed that out of 106 singers, only 35 belonged to the caste Ahir and the rest of them from other Muslim community and Hindu caste groups, such as, Brahmin, Rajput, Kayastha, Teli, Pasi and others. The main singer of the *dangali birha* who sings it in standing position is known either as the *birahiya* or the *shayar*. His associates who sing along with him are known either as the *bajugir* or *dyorhiya*. The Dholak, Shahnai and Manjira are its accompanying *vadyas* but the Kartal is the specific instrument which symbolises the *dangali birha* and differentiates the singing group from the group singing *kajri*.

The *dangali birha* is staged communally on the *varshik shringar* (annual decoration) of the local deities and individually on auspicious occasions like birth, marriage, etc. Persons from different caste groups have been found organising the *birha dangal* and observing it throughout the night.

The size of the composition of the *dangali birha* is indefinite. The sentiments used in the compositions are devotional, heroic, erotic, and so on but the song noted below is full of pathos. A *dangali birha* song for instance, is discussed below :

Text :

Kekre sahare saian chhor ke javaniyan,
 Gayle parai i bachai ke nisaniyan // Tek //
 Ghume ghatiai ghatiai ke chhichhorva,
 Dinvan behanma ghume ratiya ke chorva // Dukkar //
 Chhor ke naukariya ab bachav apan paniyan // Uran //
 Ugali anjoriya ke chhai ke badariya,
 Chandani chorai chhor dela andhiyaria, // Dukkar //
 Kahavan lukai le ijatiya ke maniya // Uran //
 Sasui sasurva nanadiya pathai ke,
 Devaru dekhav prem jhoothahin chhohai ke // Dukkar //
 Jetna samujhai otna hola agaraniya // Uran //
 Sukhva sadhanmase bharal ba jahnma,
 Ka karin sadhanva bhaile jab tohin sapanma, // Dukkar //
 Tohain joginiya ke banaiba phirse raniya // Uran //

Translation :

My darling husband ! to whom are you entrusting my blooming youth ?
 You are going far off leaving behind,
 One who lives only for you.
 The greedy eyes of loafers are always set upon me here.
 The shameless teases me by day,
 And the thieves threaten me at night, O dear !
 Give up your job and hurry up to save your honour.

The morning has dawned, but the clouds are overcast
 The clouds have hidden the shining moon causing the
 darkness all around.

I find no place to keep my honour, the valuable treasure.
Sasu (mother in-law) and *nanad* (sister in-law) have asked me go to them
 My *devar's* (husband's brother's) affection is dubious,
 I have little faith in him, I donot listen to him,
 There is happiness and mirth all around
 Of what avail the luxuries are to me,
 When you are away from me, O dear!
 Only for you my rusticity will change into sophistication.

Notation No. 11

Total Beats=20

Rhythmic Division=1/1

I
 II
 III
 IV
 V
 VI

Ke k re sa ha re sai yan chhor ke j va ni yan
 Gay le to ra t i ba cha i ke ni sa ni yan
 Ghu me gha ti ai i gha ti a i ke chhi chhor va
 Di n ma be han ma ghume ra ti ya ke chhor va
 chhor kenau kari ya ab ba cha v a pan pa ni yan

Musical Analysis

The *dangali birha* is sung partly in the *anibaddh* style and partly in the *nibaddh* style. The tempo is fast. The notes are CDEF, all belonging to higher octave. As it appears from graph no. 6, C is the beginning note as well as the ending note of this design because the singer is observed to return to the piece $\dot{C} \dot{C} \dot{C} \dot{C} \dot{C} \dot{C}$ ——— while finishing the
 ke karesa ha re s s s
 recitation. The dominant durational note is C and the notes F and E stand in order. No clear stress and empty beat pattern are observed. The note D is repetitive. C is the vibrating note, as it is observed in the design. The

clusters formed in pairs are CD, ED, FE, DC out of which ED, CD are repetitive in the form of quadruplet. This specimen also does not have the basis of any *raga*. The notes D and E like the earlier specimen are slightly lowered in micro-tonal values.

The Dhobiau Birha

The *birha* form of song as stated earlier is very popular among the Dhobis—the washermen. It is observed that its currency among this ethnic category has resulted in the development of distinct forms which are not observed among other ethnic groups. These distinctive forms are known as the *chhoota birha* and *bandha birha*.

The Chhoota Birha

The *chhoota birha* owes its name because of its small size. Dhobis also call it the *du phooliya birha* (*birha* in duplex form). It is sung either alone or in group by either of the sexes. The group may also comprise members of the both section. The usual composition of the group is a male and a female. This song is sung by Dhobis while washing clothes on the *ghat* (the bank of a river) without any aid of a musical instrument either in sitting or standing position. It has its recreational value. It helps in warding off the boredom of their tiresome and strenuous work. Ladies, when weeping also use the tune of the *chhoota birha*.

Its theme is both sacred and secular. The present song noted below is merely a description about the morning activities of both Ram and Seeta.

Text :

Binahi ka juniya,
Dharamvan ka bela,
Uth ke baithlan ha ram/
Ramji sanvaren apne,
Sirva ka matukva
Sitaji sanvaren apan mang/

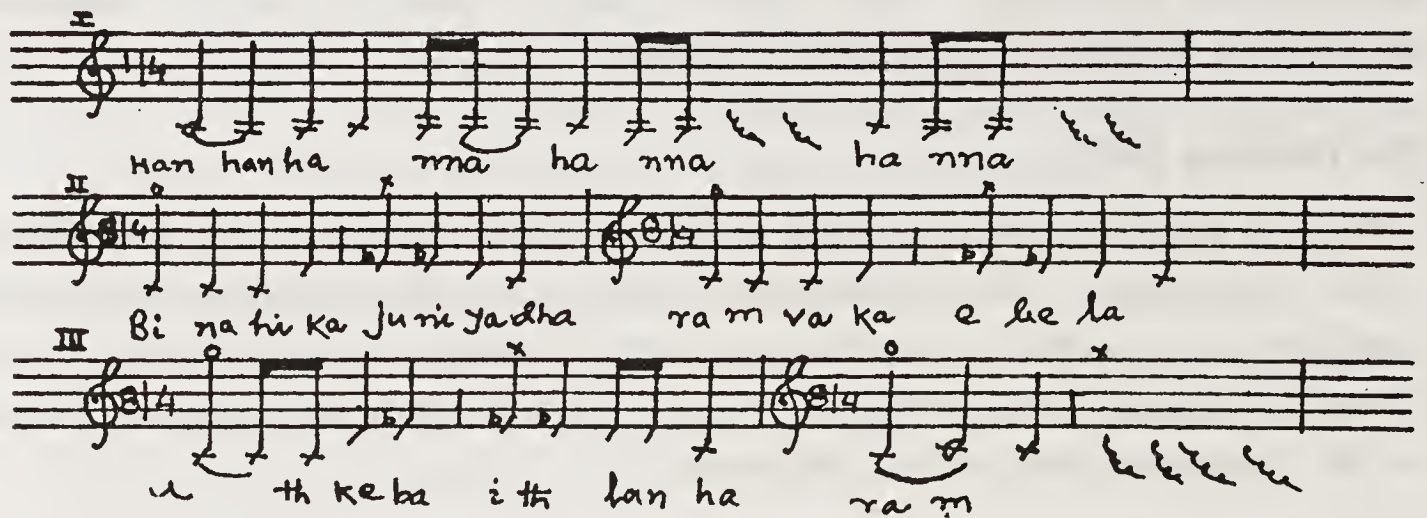
Translation :

It is morning,
The time of performing *dharma* (religious duty),
Ram has awakened.
Ramji is putting on,
The diadem of his head,
Sitaji adorns herself.

Notation No. 12

Total Beats=16

Rhythmic Division=1/1



Musical Analysis

The *chhoota birha* is performed in the *nibaddh* style. The tempo is fast. The notes are CDE^bG. The notes CDE^b of the middle octave are frequently used. As it appears from graph no. 7, C is the beginning as well as the ending note. The durational note is C. It is also the vibrating note. The note E^b is stressed but C is an empty as well as the repetitive note in this musical design. We also observe a slur from C to G in the design. This specimen does not have the basis of any *raga*. The note D is also slightly lowered compared to its micro-tonal value.

Bandha-Birha

The *bandha birha* owes its name because of its bigger size contrary to that of the *chhoota*. It is mostly sung in accompaniment with the *vadya Mridang* or *Chhar* (rod) on any auspicious occasion by a group of members usually composed of males. The group includes a joker known as *tivari*, two male-dancers—the *gujariya* and the *chaurasi* respectively; a *Mridang*-player and a *Kasavar* player. The listeners in large number enjoy the *bandha-birha*, although they hail from the caste *Dhobi* only. Its theme varies from secular to sacred. A *bandha birha* noted below, which has a sacred theme, is sung at the outset of a musical performance. In this song, the singer remembers his favourite god, *gharana*, etc.

Text :

Dhan ethiyan ka thaiyan,
 Pad rakhiha gosainyan,
 Hamta jahavan pahunchli ha aj/
 Pahle ham sumirila saiyan a gharana,
 Dusar jake sumirab dih ta mardana,
 Tisar jake sumirab gajimiyan ke nisana,
 Loha bhayalan jari lohba ka karkhana/

Nahin malum rahal bhaiya patava thekana
 Hamta jahavan pahunchli ha aj/
 Guru mor giyani chela gabai sabhva men,
 Maula karida chhatariya ka chhanh/

Translation :

Glory be to this place
 Keep my prestige, O God !
 The place where I have reached to-day,
 I remember first the auspicious day and the *gharana* as well
 Next, I pay respect to this place of valiants
 And then, I bow to Gajimiyan.
 Iron rendered into ashes in the furnace.
 I did not know the place where I have come to-day, O brother !
 I bow down my head to my learned *guru*
 His disciple sings before this gathering
 O Lord ! hold on the umbrella of your grace over my head.

Notation No. 13

Total Beats=30

Rhythmic Division=1/1

I Dhan ethi yan ka thatyen Pa d ra khi ho go sai yan

III Ham ta ja ha ven pa hun ch li tha a j

IV Pa h le ham su mi ri la sai yet a gha ra na

V Du sar ja ke su mi ra b di h ta mar da ria

VI Ti sar ja ke su mi ra b ga ji mi yan ken i sa na

VII Lo ha bhay lan ja ri li h ba ka kar kha na

VIII Na hi ma lum ra hal bhai ya pa ta vai thi ka na ham ta

IX ja ha ven pa hun ch li tha a j

Musical Analysis

The song *bandha birha* is performed partly in the *anibaddh* and partly in the *nibaddh* styles. The tempo is fast. The notes used in this musical design, CDE^bEF are from the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 7, C is the beginning as well as the ending note. The note D is repetitive. There is much duration on F. No clear stress pattern and empty note are located. C is also the vibrating note as observed in the notation. It is observed from the movement that the note D while going to F leaves E in ascending order. The note F while coming to D crosses E in descending order. This specimen does not have the basis of any *raga*.

The Khatikau Birha

The Khatik, an ethnic group has also adopted *birha* and moulded it in distinctive forms. The Khatiks divide their *birha* into two—the *rahchaltu birha* and the *baithki birha*.

The Rahchaltu Birha

It is named so as it has a tradition of being sung on the way while going to a distant place on foot. This however, has gone out of use since the change has occurred in the mode of travel with the development of communication. The tradition of its singing still continues alone.

The theme of the song is usually secular. An example of it is given below :

Text :

Sas mori anhari sasurva chakchonhara, piyava chhavaila parades/
 Har hamre herailan thagva garika hayalba, dhayli maradva kai bhes/
 Kaisan rahlan tera e sas a sasurva, kaisan to piya tor/
 Tab kaune baranma ka gari ka bayalba dhaniya, dhaylu maradva kaibhes/
 Tab tisiya rang mera e sas a sasurva, banvar rang to piya mor/
 Ta ganhua varan ore gari ka bayalba thagva, dhayli maradva kai bhes/
 Tab tohre bayalmai dekhali re dhaniya, jhanjhmau ke des/
 Banhal rahlan baburva ke khutva men, rerva kai patva chabat/
 Hamre bayal bar bisani re thagva, rer patva to nahin khai/
 Banhal hoihain chanama ke khutva, choon-choon moti khai/

Translation :

My mother in-law is blind and father in-law is short-sighted.
 My husband lives outside.
 O *thug* ! the oxen of my cart are lost,
 So, I have assumed the guise of a male.
 What kind of persons have been your parents in-law ?

What kind of person has been your husband ?
 Of what colour are the oxen of your cart, O Dhaniya ?
 For which you assumed the guise of a male ?
 My parents in-law are of linseed colour,
 And my husband is light-black.
 O *thug* ! my oxen of the cart are grey,
 So, I have assumed the guise of a male.
 O Dhaniya ! I have seen your oxen around the dry ponds.
 Where they are tied to an acacia-post,
 And chewing the leaves of a castor tree.
 O *thug* ! do you want to cheat me ?
 They don't chew the leaves of the castor tree,
 They are tied to the sandal post,
 They are picking and chewing the pearls.

Notation No. 14

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

Sa s mo ri a nha ri sa sur va cha k chon ha ra

II Pi x y va ba sai la pa r de s

har ham re he rai lan dha ni ya

ga ri ke ba jal ha le ken

dha y li ma ra d va ke

Musical Analysis

The *rahchaltu birha* is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is fast. The notes are CDE^bEFGA^b belonging to the middle octave. As it appears from graph no. 8, the beginning note is G and the ending note is C. There is duration on the note D which is also repetitive. No clear stress pattern and empty note are located. C is the vibrating note as observed in the notation. This specimen does not have the basis of any *raga*.

The Baithki Birha

It is so named as it is sung in a sitting posture. It is sung by a lone

person. It is sung casually. The word theme of this type of song is also secular. The song noted below portrays a dispute between an uncle (mother's brother) and his nephew (a sister's son).

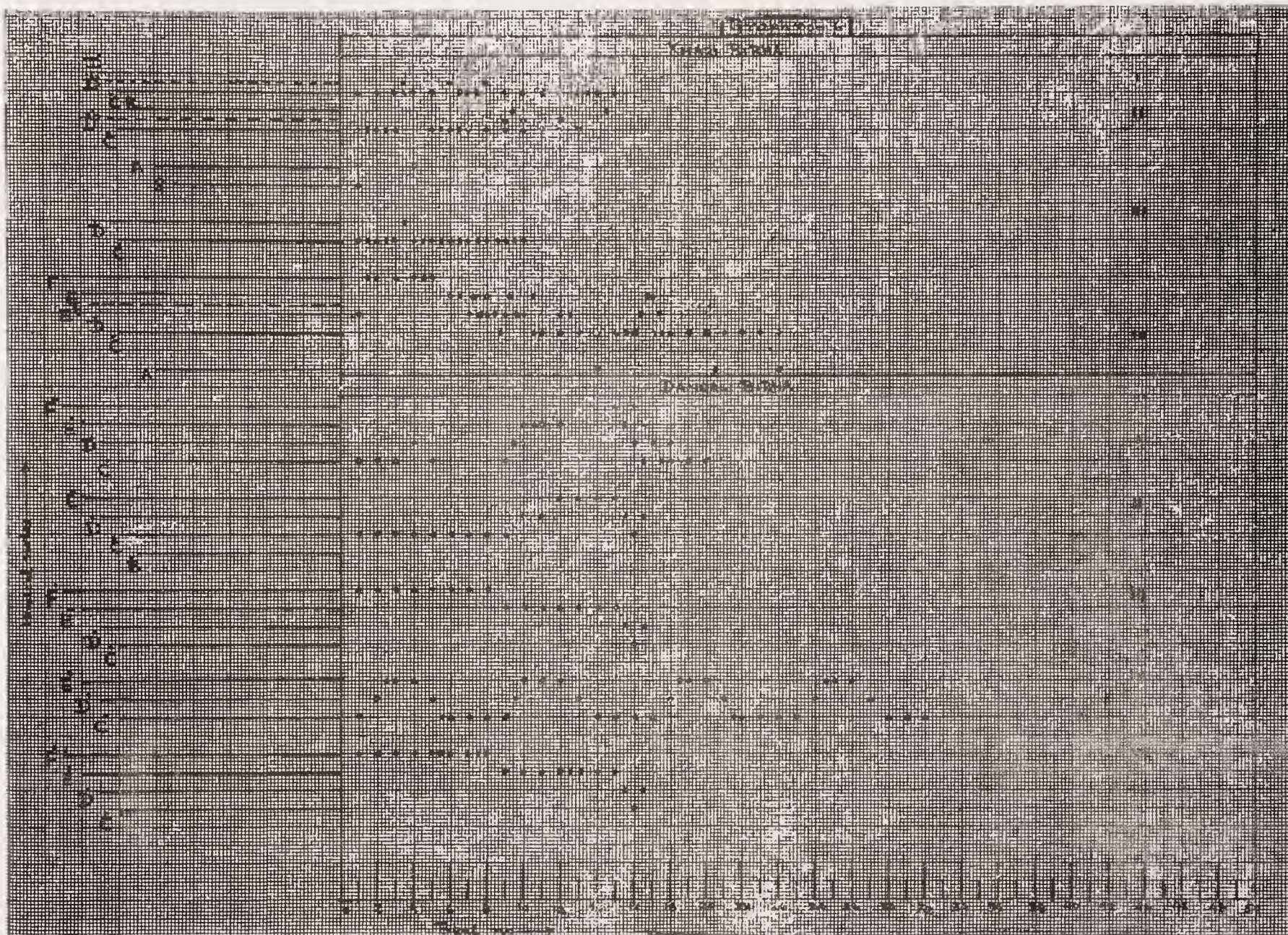
Text :

Mai mamma leke ailan neutava,
 Kahain kare ke hoi re bariyat/
 Etani batiya soon ke bhaine kulbul,
 Daural mai ke ihan jai/
 Sat e rat men mai mamma ke biyahba,
 Lekin kare ke hoire bariyat/
 Tab etani batiya soon ke bhaine kulbul,
 Jora jama he lehlan uthai/
 Dhal tarvariya bagaliya tar dabai,
 Holan ghorva pa asabar/
 Jay ke pahunchalan jab apne mamma ke ihan,
 Jhoonk-jhoonk karaila salam/
 Ghorva ta banha bhayanai chanani ke khuntava men,
 Leb jur chhaiyan jurai/
 Tab lotava kai pani leke ail onkar mami,
 Bhayane karava ho jevnar/
 Tab sato mamava ke ailan sat the thariyava,
 Bhayane ke barki parat/
 Sab-sab giki daiyan baithe ur-ur ke machhiya,
 Bhayane ki daiyan mari jai/
 Tab gharava men se bole onkar mami e dada,
 Kahe bhayane se machav la takarar/
 Satai mameva men ekaithe bhayanma,
 Onahin se kareka khiyal.

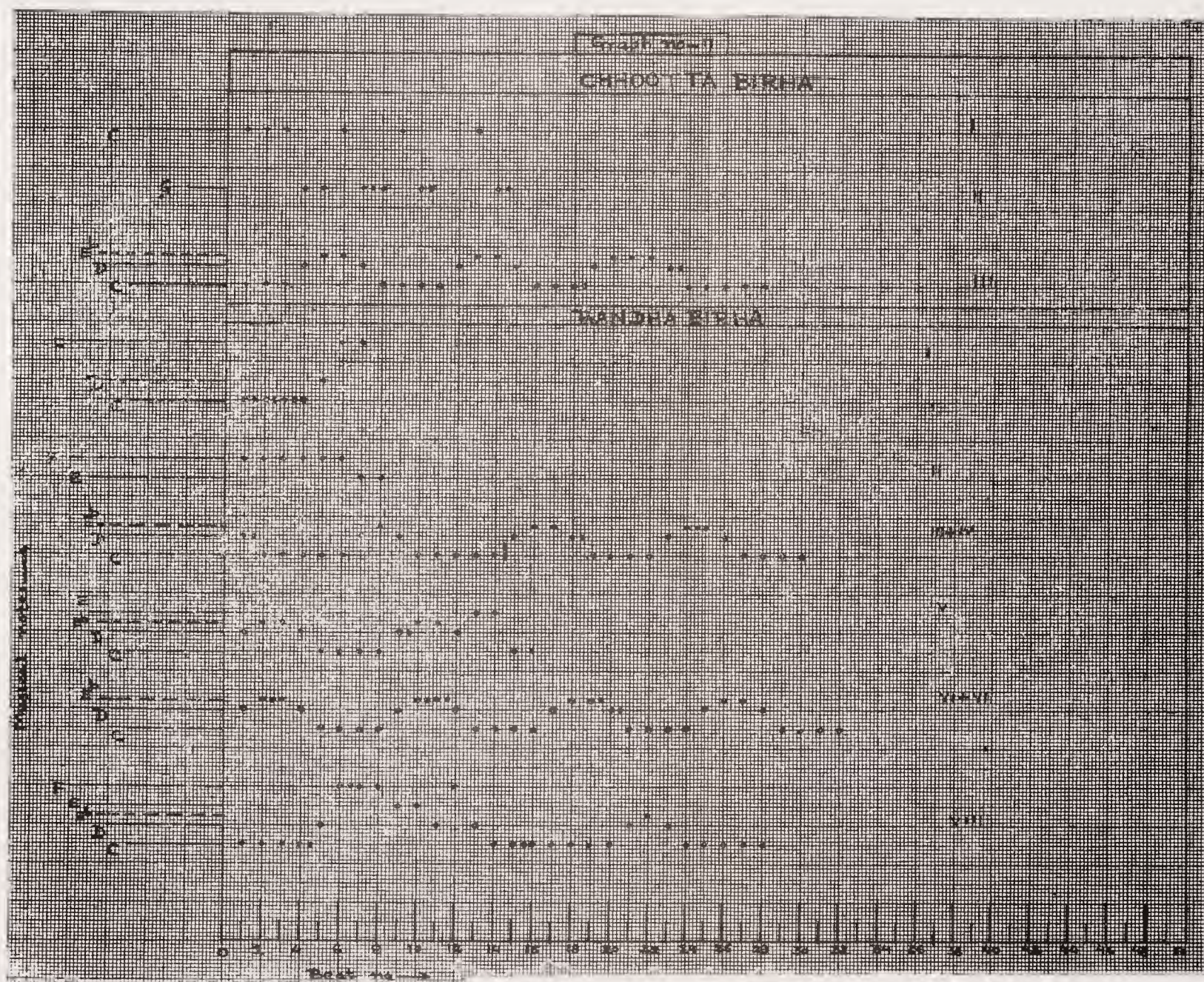
Translation :

O mother ! *mamma* (mother's brother) has brought an invitation.
 He asks me to attend the *barat* (marriage party).
 Having heard this word, he became enthusiastic,
 He ran to his mother.
 O mother ! there is the marriage of *mamma* after seven days
 But what to do, I have to attend the *barat*.
 Hearing this he became enthusiastic.
 He took his garments with him.
 Taking the sword and the shield in his arms,
 He rode the horse.
 Reaching *mamma's* house,
 He made obeisance.

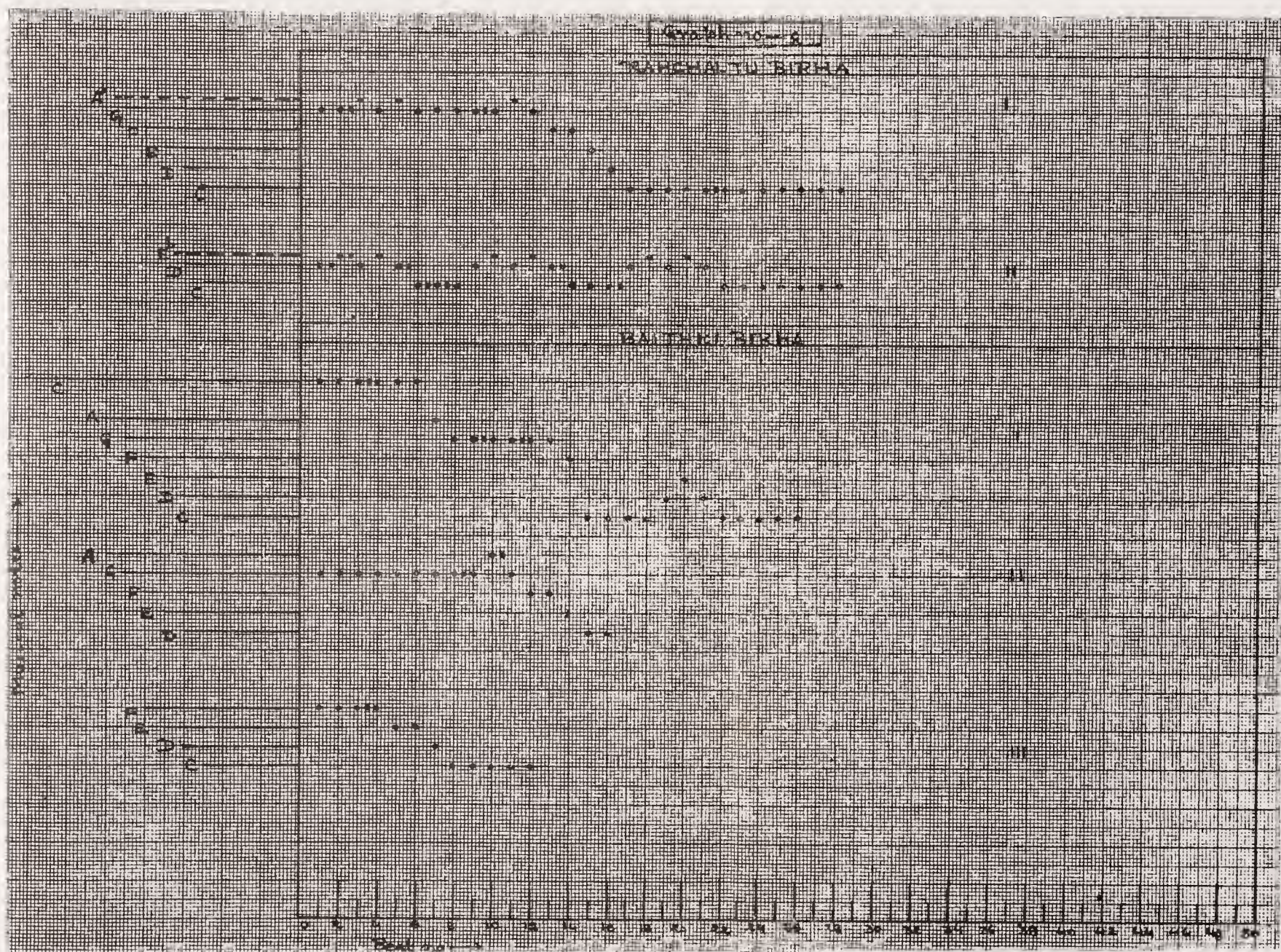
FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



FOLK MUSIC AND FOLK DANCES OF BANARAS



Tie your horse to the sandal-post, O sister's son !
 Rest under the shadow for a while
 His *mami* (mother's brother's wife) came out with a potful of water.
 Take your meal, O sister's son !
 Then came seven dishes for seven of his *mammas*.
 A large dish came for the sister's son.
 The hovering flies sat on *mamma's* dishes,
 But died on the dish of the sister's son.
 O brother ! his *mami* spoke out from within,
 Why did you quarrel with the sister's son ?
 He is your only nephew for all the seven *mammas*.
 It should be remembered.

Notation No. 15

Total Beats=8

Rhythmic Division=4/4

I
 Ma i mam ma le ke a i lan ne ub va ka ha ka re

II
 Ke ho i re ba ri ya E ta ni ba ti ya su n ke bhai ne ku a bu l

III
 Dau rah ma i ke e han ja i

Musical Analysis

The *baithki birha* is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is fast. The notes used CDEFGA are of the middle octave (the range of movement of different musical notes are from the middle to higher C).

As it appears from graph no. 8, C is the beginning as well as the ending note. There is much duration on the note G. The repetitive notes are in order of G, C and F. No clear stress pattern and empty note are observed. C is the vibrating note as observed in the design. This specimen also does not have the basis of any *raga*.

Discussion

1. From the analysis of different forms of the *birha*, we find that none of them has the basis of any *raga*. In all its forms, the notes D and E

are slightly lowered than their usual microtonal values. The reason being that the songs are C-centric as evident from their higher duration on C. This characteristic of the *birha* differentiates it from other folk forms of song and stabilize it as a style. This characteristic of the *birha*, however, gets diluted as we move from the *khari birha* of Ahirs to the *rahchaltu* or *baithki birha* of Khatiks.

2. However, we observe from the specimens available to us that some of the later forms of the *birha* are melodically more developed than its earlier forms which further show a corresponding development in the social organisation of performance, degree of specialisation and thematic structure. For instance, the *dangali birha* is a subcategory of the *Ahirau birha* in which the movement of musical notes employed is frivolous and fast rather than its earlier sub-category, the *khari birha*. In the latter movement of musical notes employed is serene and slow. The *dangali birha* is performed before a large public gathering where the listeners from different caste and religious groups gather together to listen to the performance, throughout the night. The performance of the *khari birha* is confined to the neighbourhood. Further, the *dangali birha* is performed by a selected few who possess the penetrating knowledge of the culture and know the art of composition and argumentation as well. These are not required for a singer of the *khari birha*, although it is strenuous to recite. Similarly, the thematic structure of the *dangali birha* is in tertiary (*tek/dukkar* or *chauk/uran*) or quarternary form (*tek/chauk/latka/uran*) but of the *khari birha* in unitary form (*tek*).

The *bandha birha*, a sub-category of the *Dhobiau birha*, is melodically more developed, its musical design being elaborate and frivolous rather than its earlier sub-category, the *chhoota birha*. The musical design of the latter is very small and its movement is comparatively slow. The *bandha birha* is performed before a public gathering usually composed of the members of the Dhobi caste but the *chhoota birha* either alone or in a pair. The *bandha birha* is performed by a selected few who are able to compete in the *dangal*. The *chhoota birha* is sung by a commoner. The thematic structure of the *bandha birha* is elaborate, it being in binary (*tek/uran*) or tertiary form (*tek/chauk/uran*). The specimen available to us however, appears unsystematic. The *chhoota birha* is in unitary form (*tek*). Two different sub-categories, *rahchaltu* and *baithki birha* of Khatiks do not show any distinction in melodic development.

3. The essence of "ethnic-particularism" is also reflected in each ethnic category of the *birha* as noted below :

- (a) The octave used in case of the *Ahirau birha* is higher whereas in the *Dhobiau* and the *Khatikau birha* is middle.
- (b) The performance of the *Ahirau birha* appears "robust" which is not the case with the other two major forms of the *birha*.

- (c) The singing in the *Khatikau birha* is started from a higher pitch but both in the *Ahirau* and the *Dhobiau birha* from the medium pitch.

4. Besides the differences at sub-category and category levels, all the ethnic categories mentioned earlier, the *Ahirau*, *Dhobiau* and *Khatikau birhas* show resemblances in many respects as listed below :

- (a) C is the dominant, the beginning (exception is the *rahchaltu birha*, its beginning note being G), the ending and the vibrating note.
- (b) There is a vibration on C at the end of each form of the *birha*.
- (c) The stress and the empty beat patterns are not clear in either of the sub-categories except the *chhoota birha* of Dhobis where there is stress on note E^b and C is the empty note.

Summary

Birha is a generic term applied to a group of song forms sung by specific caste groups such as Ahir, Dhobi and Khatik. The consensus is that it belongs originally to the Ahir which has later been imbibed by other castes and consequently has given rise to different forms.

The *Birha* sung by Ahir, Dhobi and Khatik is known as the *Ahirau*, *Dhobiau* and *Khatikau birha* named after the respective caste groups. The *Ahirau birha* is divided into two sub-categories—the *khari birha* and the *dangali birha*. The *khari birha* is duplex in form. It is sung either alone or in group in the presence of a group of listeners without any aid of the *vadya* to pass leisurely hours. Its melodic content is vigorous. It is sung in the *anibaddh* style in slow tempo. The octave used is high. The musical design is composed of nine musical notes CD^bDE^bEFGAB. The *dangali birha* is sung in a group in accompaniment with the *vadyas* like Dholak, Manjira, Sahnai, etc. The Kartal is a distinguishing *vadya*. The *dangali birha* is organised on occasions like birth, marriage, annual decoration of local deities etc. The size of the thematic composition is large (*tek/chauk/latka/uran*). It is sung partly in the *anibaddh* and partly in the *nibaddh* styles. The tempo is fast. The octave used is high. The musical design is composed of four musical notes CDEF.

The *Dhobiau birha* is also divided into two—the *chhoota birha* and the *bandha birha*. The *chhoota birha* is also duplex in form like that of the *khari birha*. It is sung either alone or in a pair by either of the sexes. No *vadya* is used to accompany the song. It is performed in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is fast. The octave used is middle. The *chhoota birha* is composed of three musical notes CDE^b. The *bandha birha* is sung in accompaniment with the *vadya*, *Mridang* by a group of members. The thematic structure is large (*tek/chauk/uran*). It is performed partly in the *nibaddh* style and partly in the *anibaddh* style. Its tempo is also fast. The octave used is middle. The design is composed of five musical notes CDE^bEF.

CHART IV

| Song form | Tempo type | Tempo style | Notes employed | Octave | Starting note | Ending note | Dura- tional note | Repe- titive note | Vibrat- ing note | Empty note | Stress note |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---|--------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Khari birha</i> | Slow | <i>Anibaddh</i> | CD ^b DE ^b EF ^b GAB | Higher | C | C | C, F | C | C, E | X | X |
| <i>Dangali birha</i> | Medium Fast | <i>Anibaddh</i> + <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEF | Higher | C | C | C, E, F | D | C | X | X |
| <i>Chhoota birha</i> | Fast | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b G | Middle | C | C | C | C | C | C | E ^b |
| <i>Bandha birha</i> | Fast | <i>Anibaddh</i> + <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b EF | Middle | C | C | F | D | C | X | X |
| <i>Rahchaltu birha</i> | Fast | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDE ^b EF ^b GA ^b | Middle | G | C | D | D | C | X | X |
| <i>Baitkhi birha</i> | Fast | <i>Nibaddh</i> | CDEFGA | Middle | C | C | G | G, C, F | C | X | X |

Like *Ahirau* and *Dhobiau birha*, the *Khatikau birha* is also divided into two—the *rahchaltu birha* and the *baithki birha*. The *rahchaltu birha* is sung alone on the way while going to a distant place on foot. It is sung in the *nibaddh* style. Its tempo is fast. The notes used are CDE^bEFGA^b belonging to the middle octave. The *baithki birha* is sung by a person sitting alone. It is sung in the *nibaddh* style. The tempo is fast. The design is composed of six musical notes $CDEFGA$ belonging to the middle octave. The broad features of the various musical forms of the *birha* are presented in the chart—IV in a tabular form.

The following observations may be specially noted :

(1) We note that none of the *laukic* melodies bear the element of the *shastric* music, the universalised melodic pattern.

(2) Thus, we do not find such specimen in the *birha* which tends towards universalisation or towards parochialization. They in fact, fall under the “residual category”.

(3) We find that with the development in *laukic* melodies, there is a corresponding change in the social organisation of performance, degree of specialisation and thematic structure. For instance, if the *dangali birha*, a developed form is performed before a large public gathering by a selected few possessing a requisite knowledge of the culture, the *khari birha*, a primordial form, is performed in the neighbourhood by the person who does not possess the requisite knowledge of the culture. Thematically, if the former is in *tertiary* (*tek/chauk/uran*) and *quarternary* form (*tek/chauk/latka/uran*) the latter is in *unitary* form (*tek*).

(4) The ethnic features in different categories of the *birha* are also reflected. For instance, the octave used in the *Ahirau birha* is higher but in the *Dhobiau* and the *Khatikau birha* is middle.

The Nautch and the Nakal

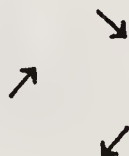
In the preceding chapter an endeavour has been made to show as to how a single musical form, *birha*, was subjected to structural variation when it was adopted by different caste groups. In the present chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the various *nautch* forms and *nakals* for understanding their socio cultural significance.

A. The Nautch

As described earlier in chapter II, we have noted that there are various dance-forms in Banaras some of which are shared in common and some are practised by specific caste groups. The *kajri nautch* and the *nautch* performed on the day of the *ratjaga* (meaning "to remain awake at night") are practised by females from each caste group. The *Ahirau*, *Dhobiau*, *Domre*, *Kahrau nautch*, etc ; distinct in style, are performed by Ahirs, Dhobis, Doms, Kahars, etc ; respectively. Each dance form is distinguished from other by the differences in the dress-pattern, the presence or absence of a particular trait, the composition of the group involved in its performance, song and movement patterns etc. Here is a description of the *nautch* forms observed in the field.

A.1. The Kajri Nautch

The *kajri nautch* also known as *dhunmuniya* is performed by a group of females holding each other's arm in standing posture during the rainy season exclusively on the day of the *kajri*-festival celebrated in the name of the goddess *Kajli* of Vindhyachal. It is performed in accompaniment with songs (for detail vide page—67). Its movements are simple, slow but circular in nature as shown below by an arrow mark.



A.2. The Nautch of Ratjaga

The *nautch* performed at the event of the *ratjaga* is associated mainly with the performance of *nakals* (which we shall discuss later). The theme of the *nautch* and the *nakals* relates to a very vital aspect of the female life.

Though, this involves aspects of their relationship with men, the reactions are kept confined to the female only to make them aware of the experiences they have. The nature of performance of the *nautch* and *nakals* is such that it has to be kept confined to the female society shrouded in complete secrecy from the eyes of the males. This, however, did not escape the inquisitive look of an anthropologist and through a very carefully planned arrangement he managed to observe the details, the analysis of which is being presented as follows :

The present study is based on observation of a performance of the women of the Bin-community at Sigra Madhopur, an area close to the Varanasi Municipal Corporation. The Bin of Banaras consider themselves as an off-shoot of the caste Mallah. The performance of the *nautch* and *nakals* at the event of the *ratjaga* organised on auspicious occasions like birth, marriage and *kajri*-festival, is not only confined to this caste group only. The women of other castes, such as, the Brahmin, Rajput, Ahir, Khatik, Kahar, Chamar, Dhobi, etc., also perform it. Thus it is a pan-Banarasi phenomenon.

Performance and their Dress-Pattern

There are altogether four women who participate in the event. Two of them transvest themselves in the male-attire but the other two who act as female put on a clean and printed *saree* (Fig. 7). Out of the two transvested females, one is said to be a "joker" and the other a "saheb". The joker has to put on a long coat and her hair remains unkempt. She holds a long stick in her left hand on which a bundle of the tattered cloth is hanged. On the whole, the joker's look has an effect of decrepitude. The *saheb* puts on a good coat and a *dhoti*. She has a turban over her head and a *lathi* (a long-bamboo stick) in the left hand.

Performance

As soon as a woman starts handling the Dholak, a female acting as a wife and the joker start dancing. The bodily movements of the females are characterised by graceful hand gestures and feet movements. The lilting of the joker and her facial expressions provoke laughter among the audience. The role of the joker appears to be an appendix one because she has never been found acting as a true-partner of the female acting as the wife and as soon as the *saheb* starts dancing, the joker's role is ceased. It is the *saheb*, who figures most and acts as a true-partner in a number of items. The dance poses and the symbolic expressions are characterised not by rhythm but by themes of songs sung in accompaniment with the Dholok. The themes are related to sexual affairs, sexual suspicion, jealousy and bigotry of men etc.



Fig. 7. A scene of the *ratjaga* dance



Fig. 8. *Kubari* (wooden phallus) used in the performance of the *Dhobiau* and *Kahrau* dance

A.3. The Ahirau Nautch

The *Ahirau nautch*, a dance type performed in accompaniment with the Nakkara, is also known as *nakkara nautch*. It is also prevalent among the Chamar and Khatik of Banaras. The *Ahirau nautch* is displayed both by males and females in their respective arena on auspicious occasions like birth, marriage, etc. This dance is performed by a group of males usually five in number out of which two of them are dancers and the rest of them handle the Nakkara, Dafla and Kasavar respectively. The dancers are from the Ahir caste but the *vadaks* are exclusively Chamars.

The *Ahirau nautch* is a dance dialogue exchanged through gestural expressions between two male partners, one acting as a male and the other as a female. The sex of the dancers is symbolized behaviourally because, in this dance, the male acting as a female hardly transvests himself in the female attire. The various gestural expressions exchanged between the two dancers either relate to love-making (like persuading, teasing, veiling and unveiling) wrestling or domestic activities like grinding, winnowing, etc. The performance of this dance is characterized by virility, fast bodily movements and several jerks with the change in rhythmic structure. However, the whole of the performance is dominated by pornogestural expressions. The poses of a person acting as a male are characterized by hand and facial expressions whereas that of a person acting as a female by chest and hip movements.

A.4. The Dhobiau Nautch

Like Ahirs, Dhobis of Banaras have their distinct style of dance known as *Dhobiau nautch*. Unlike the *Ahirau nautch* where it is performed by commoners, the *Dhobiau nautch* is performed in accompaniment with the Mridang by specific persons, usually the professionals when called on contract basis on occasions like birth, marriage and death-ritual. A description of observations made of the *nautch* performed by the members of Binesari's *gharana* at Sigra Madhopur is as follows :

Performers and their Dress-Pattern

There are at least five persons who participate in the *nautch*. A person putting on a red *kurta* and a colourful *ghaghra* with bells attached to a belt around his waist is known as *chaurasi*. A person dressed in a *saree*, with a *choli* (bodice) elevated by cotton stuffed inside with a *mangtika* on fore-head and the *ghunghru* around his ankles is the *gujariya*. A person dressed in a tattered military coloured pant and a full-shirt with an artificial moustache attached and holding a *kubari* (a spiral stick) in his hand is the *tivari* (a joker). He puts on a hat over his head and applies a long *tika* over his fore-head. The other two persons one dressed in a

lungi and a shirt and the other in a *dhoti* and a shirt are the Kasavar and the Mridang players respectively.

Performance

Initially, the *chaurasi*, *gujariya* and *tivari* start dancing to the beats of the Mridang but later on, their movements are guided by the word-theme usually rendered by the *tivari*. The movements of the dancers are characterised by sharp hip movements and knee-dips asymmetrical to the rhythm. The *chaurasi* makes a number of circular movements which come to a sudden stop when the *tivari* starts singing. The *gujariya* and the *tivari* play the role of a wife and a husband in the performance of the dance as well as in the *nakal*.

A.5. The Kahrau Nautch

Like Ahirs and Dhobis, Kahars of Banaras have their distinct style of *nautch* performed in accompaniment with the Huduk on significant occasions like birth, marriage and death-ritual, etc. A description of the dance performed by the members of Rambodh's *gharana* is as follows :

Performers and their Dress-Pattern

This dance is performed at least by five members, the *launda* or *gujariya*, joker-I and joker-II, the Huduk player and the Jori-player. A person, who puts on a yellow *saree* and a blouse with *ghunghru* around his ankles, is termed as *gujariya* or *launda*. The *gujariya* paints his lips with a red powder—*engur* and applies collyrium over his eye-brows. A person who applies flour to his face, *engur* and black-powder to his eye-brows and collyrium to his lips is known to be a joker. He (joker-I) in order to make his look attractive, draws a red line from his fore-head to the nose. Two black lines are also drawn over adjoining to his moustache. He wears torn clothes, a pant and a coat. He holds a *kubari* (a spiral wood—see Fig. 8) in his right hand with the help of which he communicates various expressions.

Joker—II wearing a *jhalar-gudari* (a shirt patched with frills), covering his head with *karal* (matted hair), wearing a crown tied around his forehead, covering his chin with a *galgochchha* (a set of moustache and beard) and holding a *chanvar* (flapper) in his hand represents a typical Muslim-priest. Other two participants are a Huduk-player and a Jori-player dressed in their usual dress, *Dhoti* and shirt.

Performance

The total dance performance of the Kahar may be divided mainly into two parts, the dance accompanied only by the *vadya* Huduk and the dance accompanied both by the *vadya* and songs. In a way it may be said that

the *Kahrau nautch* is either guided mainly by rhythm and/or by word theme.

In the beginning, both the *gujariya* acting as a female and joker-I acting as a male start dancing to the *bols* of the Huduk known as *parh* or *daur*. The performance starts with the medium tempo and ends with the fast tempo. Like *Ahirau*, the *Kahrau nautch* is also a dance-dialogue exchanged between the *gujariya* and joker-I. The dance performed by the *gujariya* is dominated by the feet movements with less hand and bodily gestures in syncopation with the rhythm. The gestures made by joker-I with the help of the *kubari* that represents a male genital, are full of sex-appeal. The expressions made both by the *gujariya* and joker-I either relate to the sexual affair between a male and a female or love-making (Fig. 9). After the *parh* is over, joker-II who represents a typical *maulana* (a Muslim priest) also joins the performance. The expressions of the *gujariya*, joker-I and joker-II are in accordance with themes of the songs categorised as follows :

(a) mocking at a female calling her a she-goat (b) persuading a female by a *maulana* (c) joking between a house mistress and her servant and (d) coupling with a female under a lemon-tree etc.

The themes conveyed through songs sung in accompaniment with the dance are not only related to sex but cover other aspects of the culture and thus criticize the deviant behaviour of a Muslim priest who is not supposed to be involved in the worldly affairs.

B. The Nakal

The *nakal*, meaning 'imitation' or 'mimicry', is a dramatic performance usually accompanied by music and dance. It is, in fact, the presentation of a role, real or imaginary to describe a person or a situation through various symbols that are meaningful in the culture. Its dialogues are either in prose or poetry forms which need to be analysed in a cultural frame of reference.

The tradition of *nakal* in Banaras appears to be very old specially cherished by a particular professional group—*Bhand* since Gupta period as speculated by Motichand (Referred to in Mukherjee 1973 : 68) which has later been adopted by other caste groups like Dhobi, Kahar, etc. As reported by a Dhobi of Ramnagar, the tradition of *nakal* among Dhobis has crept into recently (1950) onward with the professionalization of the caste-music. The women of Banaras from different caste groups have also been reported to perform the *nakal*.

In the following chapter, a discussion will be made on *nakals* performed by the women of Banaras (exclusively of the caste, Bin) and also by the men from Dhobi and Kahar caste groups. An attempt will also be made to highlight the importance of *nakal* for the understanding of *Banarasi* culture.



Fig. 9. Joker holding wooden phallus—a sex posture



Fig. 10. A joker representing a Muslim priest

B.1. The Nakals Performed by Women

As described earlier (pp. 110-111), the *nakal* is a part of the performance made at *ratjaga* organised on the day a bride-groom goes to bring the spouse with his family members. The *nakals* performed by the women, as observed, may be classified into two from thematic point of view—the *nakals* pertaining to the scatological or sexual theme and the consequence of keeping a co-wife, the analysis of which is given below.

The *nakal* (no. 1) described here, which is a dialogue between a mother and her daughter in which the latter who has been stung by a black scorpion requests her mother to call in a doctor, has heterosexual content. The translation of the text is as follows :

Nakal No. 1

First : Oh mother !
 Second : What ?
 First : A scorpion has stung me
 Second : Where ?
 First : Here (pointing to her vaginal portion)
 Second : Where ?
 First : Ah, here
 Second : Where ?
 Chorus : —

Original Text :

Age marlas pachhe marlas keko na janay re,
 Boari ke hethe mare jiyra juray re.

Translation :

Ah ! it has stung in the front,
 It has stung on the back.
 It is invisible to every body.
 It gives pleasure to the heart
 When it stings close to the vagina.

First : Oh mother !
 Second : What ?
 First : The scorpion has stung me
 Second : Where ?
 First : Here.
 Second : Where ?
 Chorus : —

Original Text :

Are agal marlas bagal marlas kekona janay re,
 Boari ke hethe mare jiyra juray re.

Translation :

It has stung me on both the sides.

No one is able to see.

It gives pleasure to the heart.

When it stings close to the vagina.

First : Oh, mother !

Second : What ?

First : The scorpion has stung me

Second : Where ?

Chorus : —

Original Text :

Are kavan rang bichhi, kavan rang kanta ?

Are kalerang bichhi, sabujranj kanta

Are kali bichhi mare jharbaiyo bulav re.

Translation :

Tell me of what colour is the scorpion ?

Tell me of what colour is the thorn ?

The scorpion is black, the thorn is green.

Ah, call in the doctor,

The black scorpion has stung me.

Here the expressions 'stinging of a black scorpion' and 'to call in a doctor' have sexual connotations. While the expression 'stinging of a black scorpion'—stands for stirring of the woman's passion, the expression 'to call in a doctor' stands for the desire to have a male partner for sexual act. This kind of dialogue points out the nature of relationship between a mother and a daughter in which the latter has an intimate, free and frank relation with the former. The suggestion to arrange for the marriage and to talk of sex does not fit in the normal behaviour pattern of our family relationship. A son has never been found to do so with his parents, nor a daughter can-do so with her father but she can do so with her mother as the dialogue indicates. In fact, the present dialogue is a good example of the woman to woman relationship irrespective of kin-relationship.

(b) Consequence of keeping a co-wife.

In *nakal* no. 2 noted below, the consequence of polygamous marriage has been shown. Here three aspects are to be observed in the context of the present *nakal*. First, the masculine behaviour of a transvested female in which she arrives at her house with a newly married damsel. The pretending husband orders to open the door. She uses slang words,

though of homosexual content during the conversation made with the first wife. The first wife opens the door and seeing a stranger with her husband jumps to a conclusion that her husband has come with a co-wife. The time she knows it, her husband becomes mild and tries to please her feigning that her co-wife has been brought to help her in domestic affairs but the newly brought co-wife refuses all sorts of assignments and both the husband and the wife have to suffer. The second aspect is of the envy between the co-wives which is a part of our legendary tradition and the third aspect is reflected that a newly married co-wife is insolent which is a natural behaviour on her part as she is proud of her being favourite to her husband. The translation of the text is quoted below :

Nakal No. 2

(The *saheb* comes with a veiled lady to the house and orders her wife who is inside).

- Saheb (S) : Open the door a little
 Wife (W) : Yes.
 S : Don't you listen ? Open the door a little
 W : Oh ! what is it ? Wait, I'm coming.
 S : What are you doing ?
 W : Coming. My hands are engaged.
 S : What are you doing ?
 W : Oh ! I'm not free at the moment
 S : (Beating the metallic dish) O the mother of the child !
 W : What is it ?
 S : O the mother of the child !
 W : Oh ! who are you ?
 S : Open the door
 W : My hands are engaged.
 S : Open the door
 W : I am preparing *gulgula*
 S : Open.
 W : My hands are engaged.
 S : What are you doing ?
 W : I am cooking *gulgula* for breakfast.
 S : Has the *gulgula* been roasted ? For whom are you cooking ?
 W : For you
 S : You, the fucker of the mother, will you open it or not ?
 I will teach you a lesson.
 W : Oh ! the butter will be exhausted and my hands will be scorched.

- S : Oh ! open. I'm feeling pressure (others laughed (Self speaking : Oh ! why does not she open soon ? I have come with a *lota*).
Open ! Open.
- W : It is opened. (Seeing a woman behind her husband she asks) Whom have you brought ? Is she your mother ? Have you brought her ?
- S : Yes.
- W : The dauber of an oven ! Have you brought my co-wife ?
- S : (Speaks slowly), she will clean your utensils.
- W : What ?
- S : She will clean your utensils.
- Co-wife (CW) : No ! I won't clean.
- S : Listen ! you will cook food.
- CW : No ! I won't cook food.
- S : Then, for what did you come ?
- CW : I have come to sleep.
- Chorus : —

Original Text :

Du du mehariya ke mara re
Kaise jiye bechara.
Barki karai kutauni pisauni,
Chhotki mare najara re,
Kaise jiye bechara.

Translation :

How would the poor fellow live !
He is a victim of two wives,
The first one does the domestic work for him
While the second one is way-ward.

Now we find that the performance of the *nautch* and *nakals* at the *ratjaga*, has its dual functions. The first is to save the house from dacoity or theiving in the absence of males and the second is to disseminate their feelings in the absence of the males what the women have against them. The contents of the *nautch* and *nakals* performed at the *ratjaga* cover the total activities of females' life. The nature of contents is secular, viz., from the symbolism of an aerated copulation, reproduction etc, to the consequence of polygamy etc ; are demonstrated. A young girl who is supposed to step in her family life is made to realize the veiled realities of life as culture, normally, does not provide her to experience it on an ordinary occasion. Thus she is taught in a dramatized

situation so that she should not psychologically be afraid of, with the happenings of the family life.

B.2. The Dhobiau Nakal

The performance of *nakals* is a part of the musical performance made by Dhobis. The motive behind its performance is to provoke humour and to avoid monotony among the listeners. An analysis of the *nakals* performed at Sigra Madhopur by the members of Binesari's *gharana* is given below :

The number of *nakals* performed on the spot was two—the first relating to their caste-profession, the *dhobiapat* (washing of clothes) and the second was a mimicry of the caste, Kohar (potters). In *dhobiapat*, initially only two persons participated—the *tivari* acting as a husband and the *gujariya* acting as a wife. The theme of the dialogue dealt with the extra-marital relationship between a female and her sister's husband with whom the former has joking relation. As the dialogue was linked with a song, the other three members—the *chaurasi*, the Kasavar and the Mridang player had also to join the performance at the end. The theme that has been presented in the second mimicry may not be treated as group specific. It appears reflecting some aspects of *Banarasi* culture deeply engrained in the belief-system of Dhobis. Further, the theme presented may be distinctive but it appears to have its cultural proximity with other surrounding ethnic cultures.

From the analysis of the dialogue it is derived that Dhobis distinguish the term 'spirit' from the term 'soul'. For them spirit stands for both malevolent and benevolent power. To them soul is a separable element from the body which can transmigrate and travel to the world beyond. The belief, in living of ancestors in the heaven, is associated with continuity of relationship after death. The dialogue also describes of the two separate death-rituals prevalent in the communities like Hindu and Muslim living in the same cultural milieu.

The translation of the dialogue is presented below :

Nakal No. 3

[Initially, the *tivari* becomes senseless. This causes worry to the Mridang player (MP) and therefore, he asks the Kasavar-player (KP)].

MP : See ! this person has just come from Ramnagar. He was singing and dancing. Why is he senseless ?

KP : Brother, is he possessed by some evil-spirit ?

MP : You are right ! Do one thing. The pond of Sagra is near. Let us carry him and throw him there.

KP : Examine first, whether he is alive or dead.

MP : You examine.

KP (chiding) : What ? Why don't you do so yourself ?

MP : You, the fucker of the pander. Examine

KP (Examines) : Perhaps he is dead, as it appears to me. His soul rests on his libido.

MP : You are right.

KP : Straighten him. Fold, carry and finish.

(Further examines and says). His eyes have come out.

MP : Have they ? Oh ho ! fold him soon.

(KP starts folding him. When he folds the right leg, the left hand is raised up. When he folds the left leg, the right hand is raised up. This act provokes a laughter among the audience).

KP : It appears that the evil-spirit has completely swallowed him. Understand ?

MP : Fold him completely.

KP : It is to be considered.

MP : What ?

KP : He is a Hindu. If he were a Muslim ?

MP : We would have carried him to the burial place.

KP : You would have offered *ganr* (rectum) and I would have fucked.

MP : Abe ! the pander (the audience laugh).

Come here. Come here. Fold him soon and throw.

KP : Should I lift ?

MP : Yes (Both of them start lifting him up but they fail to do so).

MP : See this fucker of a pander ! he is getting stiff.

(Again both of them try together to carry but fail. At last the MP starts beating the dead with his stick. The *tivari* (T) pretends to get back his life and gets up).

Tivari (T) : Oh what ?

MP : Oh friend ! here all of us got nervous. Where had you been ?

T : To God's abode to meet my grand-father.

MP : Surprising. Once who has ever gone there never returned except you.

T : I had gone to bring *pota* (testicles).

MP : Had you gone to bring *pota* ? (He beats *tivari* with his stick. Other laugh).

T : I had gone to take *pata* (address).

MP : For what ?

T : To know about, what shall I be after death ?

MP : What did he say ?

T : He told me :

Original Text :

Marjaibai matti hoi jaibai,

Au matiai men rahab paray.
 A i kohra ka betaua,
 Khanke le jai apane ghara.

Translation :

I shall turn to the soil if I die.
 I shall be living in the soil.
 A potter, the bastard, shall come.
 And digging me, he shall take me to his house.

T : O brother !

S : Yes !

T : He shall trample, mix and press after taking me to his house. He shall construct a beautiful pitcher out of it. He shall throw me in the oven where I shall be baked. He shall bring me to the market to sell ! A lady like you shall come there.

MP : Abe ! (Beats the *tivari* with his stick. The audience laugh).

T : A lady, as tall as you are, shall arrive there.

S : Yes' !

T : You know ! she shall purchase me and take me to her house. She shall then take me to the well and tie my neck with a rope to fill water. As soon as she will be taking me out of the well after she has dropped in, she will untie my neck. She will take me to the yard and put me under shed. Everybody shall come and pour water out to drink. A boy, the carrier of a womb, shall touch me with his refused hand.

Original Text :

Chhui jaibai chhutihar kahaibai.
 Kali soli men rahab paray.
 Sanjhiyo dekhav saberbo, dekhav,
 Hamro jiyara rahi juray !

Translation :

I shall be polluted after I am touched with refused hands.
 I shall be kept in a dark place.
 I shall be observing every morning and evening.
 The women washing their anus.
 I shall remain happy to see them.

From the dialogue it is observed that sometimes the semantic content is replaced with the nasalization or syllabic replacement of a word. For instance, the word *gar* meaning 'to bury' when nasalized becomes *ganr* which stands for 'rectum'. Likewise, the word *pata* meaning 'address' when pronounced as *pota* ('a' is replaced by 'O') stands for 'testicles'.

It is observed that whole of the dialogue has been presented in humorous way and is full of erotic and vulgar expressions having both homosexual and the heterosexual contents.

B.3. The Kahrau Nakal

Like Dhobis, Kahars of Banaras also perform *nakals*. Likewise, the *nakal* is a part of their total musical performance especially meant for recreating the listeners. An analysis of the *nakal* performed by the party members of *Rambodh gharana* is given below :

The dialogue exchanged between joker-II and the Jori-player is a criticism against a doctor for violating the folk dogmas concerning taking and avoiding of certain edible things. The kind of measures taken by an aelopath physician do not find confirmity with the existing system of cure and illness in the rural set-up. The dialogues are as follows :

Nakal No. 4

(Joker-II starts hopping along with the *gujariya* on the dancing ground for sometime and then starts talking with the Jori-player).

J(II) : *Bolmiyankurban jan !* O brother ! there is one *misla* (instance).

JP : What sort of *misla* ?

J(II) : Don't you know me ?

JP : No.

J(II) : I am a doctor. Listen

Original Text :

He doctor babu bemar bhayle bakri

Translation :

O doctor ! the she-goat is ill.

KP : What happened then ?

J(II) : I made her drink water from *inara-kuiyan* (well) (the audience laughed).

KP : Are these *inara-kuiyan* two separate words ? Then ?

J(II) :

Original Text :

Are ek din piay dihe pokhri

Translation :

One-day I made her drink from a pond. (All repeat in chorus).

J(II) : O brother ! I used to offer her the rice of Dehradun (the audience laughed).

KP : What a fortunate goat ! We people hardly get one such.

J(II) :

Original Text :

Are ek din khiay dihaiñ lakri.

Translation :

One-day I fed her wood (All repeat in chorus).

KP : Oh ho ! What did you do then ?

J(II) : I used to offer her green *kesari* daily (a type of cereal).

JP : Yes ! Yes !

J(II) :

Original Text :

Are ek din khiay dihaiñ chapri.

Translation :

O ! One-day I fed her *chapri* (a thorny grass). (All repeat in chorus).

JP : O brother ! What happened then ?

J(II) : O brother ! I used to cover her body with the shawl.

JP : What an excellent work you used to do ! (The audience laughed).

J(II) :

Original Text :

Are ek din orhay delin kathri.

Translation :

One-day I covered her with a *kathri*. (a cover made from tattered clothes). (All repeat in chorus).

Explicitly this *nakal* is meant to ridicule a doctor. Implicitly it relates to erotica. As explained by the performers, here the words like *bakri* and *lakri* which literally mean 'she-goat' and 'a piece of wood' stand for 'a lady' and 'penis' respectively. It is noted from the above explanation that sometime a single word in a song carries a double meaning. This duality of semantics may lie at the cultural base.

Discussion

We have so far observed the masculine behaviour of the females who transvesting themselves in the male-attire perform the *nautch* and *nakals* on the day of the *ratjaga*. We have also observed the feminine behaviour of the males with and without transvesticism in case of the *nautch* and

nakals performed by Ahirs, Dhobis and Kahars, respectively. This aspect of behaviour in which a female takes the role of a male and vice-versa in a culturally defined situation is undoubtedly a phenomenon of the "role-reversal" which needs dealing afresh though it has been noticed by a number of anthropologists like Banton (1968), Bateson (1958), Marriott (1975), Sengupta (1973) and others. Therefore, here an attempt will be made to define and discuss the works done in brief, and evaluate the situation faced in Banaras.

By "role-reversal", here, we mean the interchangeability of role with and without transvesticism in a culturally defined situation.

The interchangeability of roles with and without transvesticism which fulfils the total requirement of the desired roles between the performers of dissimilar status or sex in a performance may be termed as 'real role-reversal'. The interchangeability of roles with and without transvesticism which fulfils the total requirement of all the desired roles including that of the opposite sex within one sex only may be termed as 'apparent role-reversal'.

The phenomenon of role-reversal observed by Banton, Marriott and Sen Gupta and by Bateson and us may be put under the category of the real role-reversal and the apparent role-reversal respectively. Let us examine the phenomenon and the corresponding explanation given by them one by one.

Real Role-Reversal

Banton quotes the instance of the Roman saturnalia in which for a time the slave become master and the master had to obey his slave. To him this event acts as a "safety valve" which reminds them that the distinction between them is unchangeable and stimulates them to think of other's view-point (Banton, 1968 : 44). Banton here gives a psychological interpretation of the phenomenon, at the sametime he does not ignore the super-organic value of the cultural structure.

Marriott who observed the *holi* festival of the village Kishan Garhi, explains the phenomenon of the real role-reversal at two different levels, i.e., at empirical level he could realize the reversal of the secular order and record the two cases of adultery by females with the neighbouring men (Marriott 1975 : 88), beating of lower caste females to the dominating personnel of the village etc. (Ibid : 95) and at the level of abstraction he could realize the reversal of the world order, i.e., world destruction and world pollution followed by world renewal and world purification respectively (Ibid : 96).

To this phenomenon Marriott gives further a socio-psychological interpretation explaining that "each may learn to play his own roles afresh, surely with renewed understanding possibly with greater grace, perhaps with a reciprocating love" (Ibid : 97).

The kind of role-reversal observed by Sen Gupta in a rain making ceremony of the Uttar Pradesh where the females had to plough the field nakedly and the male had to serve the food in the field as if a wife is serving to a husband (personal communication from Dikshit Sinha) is completely of different nature which is somewhat related to the magico-religious belief.

Apparent Role-Reversal

The phenomenon of the apparent role-reversal enumerated by Bateson in context of the Naven ceremonies of Iatmul culture in which the "mother's brother" acts as a female referred to as "mother" and the "father's sister" as a male referred to as "father" to celebrate for the children who had worked for the sago for the first time. For this the men dress themselves in a female dress and the women dress themselves in a male dress (Bateson 1958 : 12-15). This phenomenon has been explained in terms of ethos. For "the ethos of women in our culture has been built up around certain types of situation and that of men around very different situations. The result is that women, placed by culture in a situation which is unusual for them but which is usual for men, have contrived a transvestite costume, and this costume has been accepted by the community as appropriate to these abnormal situations" (Ibid : 200).

The same kind of interpretation may be given for the phenomena of the transmission of the transvesticism associated with the *nautch* and *nakals* performed by men and women of Banaras. But in Banaras however, the situation around which the events are organized is different and leads to the private versus public arena problem. We have observed that the men do not allow the women to participate with them because they perform the *nautch* and the *nakals* in the public arena. And generally the women who perform in the public are considered deviant. They are treated as prostitute or quasi-prostitute. However, there are certain occasions provided by culture specially the *kajri* festival where the domestic women sing and dance publicly in the presence of men. Thus the context and the content to be communicated are significant in the culture of Banaras. We have also noted that while the *nautch* and the *nakals* are performed by the women at the *ratjaga*, no male member is allowed to stay there. Women involved in this session under such conditions are likely to experience a feeling of freedom from ordinary social constraints and rejoice in being able to engage in relationships that are not dependent on men. Hence, they are keenly aware, in that context, of how different their behaviour and their manner of speaking can be from those of men ; they take pride in this difference at least for the duration of the session (Deemer, 1975 : 108). This may be the

reason why the women involved in the session appear 'more male—like' rather than female both in physical and verbal behaviours.

Besides, the performance of the *nautch* and the *nakals* on the day of the *ratjaga* is bound to happen in a private arena as the context permits the women to criticize men's behaviour in a traditionally bound situation though in an impersonal and harmless milieu which calls upon the sympathy from their women partners as the core of its effect. As the social structure does not permit polygamous type, the criticism of the polygamous attitude of males seems necessary, logical and inevitable. If we accept the ideal theory of our social-structure, women are the better halves of the society and both men and women have been put together in a meaningful way in the social whole. Thus to understand one, others reactions are to be taken into account.

Summary

The Nautch

Of the various dance forms in Banaras some are performed in commonalty and some are specific to various caste groups. The *kajri*, a dance form and the dance associated with the *ratjaga* are performed by females from each caste group. The *Ahirau*, *Dhobiau* and *Kahrau* dance are performed by Ahirs, Dhobis and Kahars, respectively.

The *kajri* also known as *dhunmuniya* is performed in circular form and is slow and simple in nature. The dance performed on the day of the *ratjaga* by females in which one of them transvests herself as a *saheb* and another as a joker, is guided by themes of songs sung in accompaniment with the Dholak. The various themes are scatological in nature. Some of them pertain to the criticism of males' militant behaviour, their polygamous attitude etc.

The *Ahirau*, *Dhobiau* and *Kahrau* dances are distinct in style. The *Ahirau* dance is performed in pair by males, one acting as a male and another as a female. It is accompanied by the Nakkara. This dance form is characterised by virility, fast bodily movements and several jerks. The *Dhobiau* dance performed by professionals include the *chaurasi*, the *gujariya* (a male dressed in female's attire) and the *tivari*. This dance, performed in accompaniment with the Mridang, is characterised by sharp hip movements and a number of circular movements. The *Kahrau* dance performed by males, the *gujariya* and the joker, is characterised by feet movements.

The Nakal

The *nakal* (a dramatic performance) is performed by the women, specially of the time of the marriage ceremony. Besides, the men from different caste groups like Dhobi, Kahar and others also perform the *nakal* on various occasions.

The *Dhobiau nakal* is a part of the musical performance. The motive behind its performance is to provoke laughter among the listeners. The number of *nakals* as observed was two. The first *nakal* relates to the caste profession of Dhobis, known as *dhobiapat*. The theme of the dialogue deals with the extra-marital relationship between a female and her sister's husband. The second *nakal* relates to some aspects of *Banarasi* culture deeply engrained in their belief system, viz., belief in the spirit different from the soul, spirit being both malevolent and benevolent and soul as a separable element from the body which can transmigrate and travel the world-beyond, the continuity of life after death, etc. The *Kahrau nakal* as observed on the spot, at overt level, is a criticism of the modern system of curing illness which does not find confirmity with the existing system of treatment in the rural set-up. At covert level, the dialogue relates to erotica. Finally we have observed that while performing *nakals*, the females transvest themselves as males to complement the latter's role and vice-versa. This aspect of behaviour in a culturally defined situation is undoubtedly the phenomenon of role-reversal. It may be categorised into two—the 'real-role-reversal' and the 'apparent role-reversal'. The interchangeability of roles with and without transvesticism which fulfils the total requirement of the desired roles between the performers of dissimilar status or sex in a performance is the 'real role-reversal'. The interchangeability of roles with and without transvesticism which fulfils the total requirements of all the desired roles including that of the opposite sex within one sex only is the 'apparent role-reversal'.

The phenomenon of role-reversal as observed in Banaras falls under the second category.

We have also observed that the males perform *nautch* and *nakals* in the public arena. But the domestic females perform in the private arena because they enjoy feeling of freedom in the absence of males. Further, the performance of the *nautches* and *nakals* especially at the *ratjaga* is bound to happen in the private arena as the context provides the women to criticize mens' behaviour in a traditionally bound situation though in an impersonal and harmless milieu.

Excellence : Its Identification and Presentation

In the preceding chapters we have discussed the major musical, dance and the dance-drama forms. In the present chapter we will be discussing the problem of identification and presentation of excellence especially in performing arts with reference to the field of Banaras.

'Excellence' meaning 'a quality of superlative degree' is instrumental to generating the highest order of appreciation. It may be said that if excellence is the cause, the corresponding appreciation is its result. In a way the former is a means the latter is an end. Appreciation may thus serve as a measure of excellence in a culture.

Whether excellence in a musical performance is being exhibited or not by a musical performer may be judged by the audience in terms of "affective" as well as "cognitive" response. "Affective" pertains to "emotions" while "cognitive" pertains to "thought" (Bateson, 1958 : 175). However, these two types of responses may not be thought independent of each other because it is very difficult to say that affective responses are not guided by cognitive responses and vice-versa. Therefore, in order to study excellence both these two types of responses should be taken into consideration. Further from the definitions of affective and cognitive responses it appears that if the former is instantaneous, conditioned by musical environment and has explicit meaning, the latter takes appreciable time to occur and thus has implicit meaning which can only be known when asked from the listeners. For instance, in many of the *kajri* and *birha* performances observed, the listeners have been found uttering such exclamatory words like *vah raja* (excellent, O king !), *jiya jiya raja* (live long, O king !) etc. ; but when interviewed they have been found giving a number of explanations for such appreciations some of which either relate to the personal attributes of performers (*vide* chapter IV, pp. 40-41) or to the quality of the compositions, sometime melodic and sometime thematic (*vide* chapter VI and VII, pp. 71-72 and 97-98 respectively).

Appropriate Culture Orientation

As "no musical performer, on no matter what level his performance is couched, can escape the cultural conditioning which shapes music as

inevitably as it does other aspects of behaviour" (Merriam, 1963 : 212), the listeners may respond to a musical performance only when they fulfil the essential conditions described which help them in identifying and standardizing the excellence in a "culture bound situation". For instance, an expression of a sort given by a performer in the *Kahrau* dance such as that of the *sambhog kriya* (the act of conjugation) which may appear "obnoxious" and may not appeal to a person either of different culture, ethnic group or cultural level, is highly appreciated by a group of the Kahar listeners and is of superlative degree for them.

Therefore, for the cognitive judgement of a quality to be excellent needs "appropriate culture orientation"—a prerequisite condition for identification and value judgement. The phrase "appropriate culture orientation" means familiarity with a cultural system and its various traits, such as, language as well as values, ideas, thought processes, etc. and in the light of these, the excellence of performance in various fields, such as, music etc., may perhaps be judged. A music, for instance, to be understood properly, needs intelligibility of the language in which it is performed. Therefore, unfamiliarity with elements of a culture is surely to fail in generating emotions among listeners. A very good example to clarify the statements made above may be put as follows :

"A couple of years ago I went to study the language of the Jarwas, a hostile tribe of the Andamans, three of whom were kept confined in the Cellular Jail at Port Blair. I took some of the best specimens of classical Indian music on tape for trying on them in order to establish rapport with those unhappy captives. We started with Bismillah's Shehnai on the tape recorder, and followed it up with specimens of flute, Sitar and Sarod, but nothing could produce any impact on the three Jarwa young men who all the time kept their heads low with drooping spirit. But when we played back a few specimens of the music of the Onges who are a neighbouring tribe of the Jarwas in the Andaman Islands, the captive suddenly became attentive and so interested in the whole affair that they started singing" (Bhattacharya, 1970 : 196).

From this example it can be concluded that intelligibility of a culture specific music is very important to appreciate it which naturally helps in value—judgement of a quality in degree.

Susceptibility

Despite the appropriate culture orientation, the extent to which the music is intelligible depends on "susceptibility" of an individual or the group living in the same cultural niche of a complex polyethnic society. Thus the judging of excellence implies individual or the group variation. For instance, if an individual listener is more susceptible to music he may

respond properly in comparison to an individual who is less susceptible to it. The famous aphorism,

Bhains ke age bin bajae

Bhains baith paguray

(The instrument Bin is being played before a buffalo, the sitting buffalo mastucates) where, the "buffalo" is a symbolic representation of "an individual who is dullard to music" stands true in this regard.

As observed that sometimes a particular ethnic group even if living together with another group responds more to a specific musical form. Such is the case with Ahirs of Banaras who are thought to respond to their ethnic musical form *birha*, more rather than to any other culturally shared musical genres current in the area. That is why a famous saying

Ketno ahira parhai puran

Birha chharina gavai gan

(However much an Ahir is taught the *Puranas*, he will, sing only the tune of *birha*) has rightly been said. The *birha* touches the core of the heart of an Ahir to an extent that he prefers it even to the sacred text—the *Puranas*. The Ahirs of Banaras so rigidly hold on to their trait that they prefer this traditional musical genre to any other musical genre however, widely accepted it may be. A similar example may be cited from the caste, Teli (oil man) whose favourite musical genre is the *nayakva*.

Attentiveness

The third and the last essential condition that matters in the process of identification of excellence by a listener is the "attentiveness". Many of the listeners have been found saying that if their "mood" is not good, they can not appreciate music. As stated by one of the informants that in case he is worried, he does not remain mentally free. Even if he attends a musical performance in order to be freed from worry, his attention is diverted several times from his involvement. Therefore, the musical performance may not create the desired impact on the listeners.

As said earlier, all these three conditions described above are necessary for the identification of excellence but the excellence to be exhibited in a performance by a performer depends upon his nature of training, personal attributes and perception.

Requisite Training

"Requisite training", formal or informal, is one of the major conditions for a performer for the exhibition of excellence. For instance, a performer has to learn techniques through which his performance may appeal to the listener. He learns it either under a *guru* or through association with "significant others" (Joyner, 1975 : 259). As accepted by one of the informants, he had to contact many other important persons including his

guru in order to increase the musical repertory, to learn the art of creating appeal etc. As said by him, he was not totally dependent on his *guru* because he was not possessing several other tricks what others possessed. For example, Onkarlal of Patihtan (Mirzapur) was the champion in composing *kajri* in the mixed languages, Shyamlal Kalkatiya was a *pandit* (scholar) of *baharsikista* (a style of poetic composition), etc ; with whom he had to establish intimate relationship in order to borrow the materials from them.

Personal Attributes

The training of a performer, whether of formal or informal nature, helps in the development of his personal attributes, some of which he acquires either through practice or inherits from his family tradition. The personal attributes of an individual performance aid to the exhibition of excellence and are judged in terms of a 'dominant character' of an individual which are, sometimes, determined comparing the performers of a particular period of time. In a way, we may say that these personal attributes of a performer serve as marks of his identity. For instances, an old aged *lorki* singer, Mangan of Ahraura (Mirzapur) is highly appreciated for his attributes like *pihikna* (cooing), *uchhalna* (jumping) and *charhbaithna* (overpowering the contestant) ; Shayar Vishvanath is remembered for having the excellent "communicating power" and "accurate pronunciation" ; Birahiya Ramdeo is remembered for his "resonating" and *jabbar* (forceful) voice etc. (for detail *vide* chapter IV, pp. 40-41).

Perception

Even if a performer is trained well and possesses desired attributes, his success of performance depends upon his perception of (1) an item to which he is going to present and (2) the audience before whom he is going to present the item.

(1) The success of a performance depends upon the attributes and cognition of a performer towards an item to be presented. As said by Chhedi, a singer of the *kajri*, that when he sings a song he has to change his mood according to its content. For instance, if he sings a song of the heroic sentiment, he has to flow with the theme and present it in a robust way. But when he sings a song relating to erotica, he becomes poignant. Therefore, in order to exhibit excellence, the performer's establishment of oneness with the theme is necessary. Further whenever a performer is going to perform any item of music, he has to select items in such a way that they are contextually meaningful. For instance, the *kajri* is a style of song to be sung during the rainy season. Its themes either relate to erotica or to rainy season. But if a performer sings a composition of the heroic sentiment in a tune of the *kajri* he may not be appreciated much in

comparison to a singer who exploits the feelings and love of the people associated with the rainy season. As observed, when Chhedi was singing the *birahin* in *kajri* that depicts the feelings of separation of a lady from her husband during the rainy season, was highly responded in a gathering rather than to his song pertaining to the heroic deeds of Bhagat Singh, a martyr.

(2) Sometimes, a performer has to perceive the taste as well as the nature of composition of the audience as reported by many informants. For instance, a performer has to bowdlerize different items several times till he is able to know the liking of the audience. This he judges from the nature of response from the audience. Further, a performer has to know the nature of composition of the audience before whom he is going to present certain items. If he lacks in perception, sometimes, he may have to face failure in the performance.

Bhola, a performer of *kajri* reports that sometime around 1950, a *dangal* was organised between Salim of Mirzapur and Badri of Banaras where the listeners were Muslims in majority. Badri without any knowledge of the composition of listeners started singing song relating to the battle between Hindu and Muslim that happened in the past. His song created antagonism and enraged the Muslim listeners. The listeners were determined to kill Badri after the programme was over. Reading the situation, one of the Hindu listeners ran to call Vishvanath, another influential *kajri* singer, to control the situation. Vishvanath when informed, rushed to the place and started singing from the stage of Badri. In order to control the listeners he sang many songs in praise of the Muslim prophets and at the end asked the names of 30 *paras* (chapters of the *Koran*) from his opponent to which he failed to reply. The listeners were pleased thinking that Vishvanath being a Hindu, knew more about Islam than an ordinary Maulana. This changed the mood of enraged listeners and thus the life of Badri was saved.

The Audio-Visual Interaction

We have discussed above the conditions both for the judgement and the exhibition of excellence but these two in music solely depends on the audio-visual interaction between listeners and performers and of the performer and listeners with the performance. But the nature of audio-visual interaction varies according to the category and nature of a musical performance that influences both the processes of exhibition and judgement of excellence.

In a solo musical or dance performance, where an individual is a performer and a listener as well the judgement about the qualitative aspect of his own performance can not escape idiosyncrasy or personal bias. For, in many cases it has been observed that even if an individual

performer has harsh voice or does not dance well, he appreciates his recitation or performance more than any other fellowman, unless the latter is socially accepted as a good singer or dancer. But in a group performance, where every member is a performer, the excellence is judged by "invisible listeners" as in a group performance the members involved judge each other's quality simultaneously through audio-visual interaction. For instance, in a group song and dance *dhunmuniya* displayed on the occasion of the *kajri* festival, where a number of ladies were observed participating, one of them was reported as the best songstress by her partners. However, even in such cases, the judgement of the excellence may not be impartial unless a performer excludes himself from the performance because he may have a bias for his group and the performance in which he is involved. But in musical performances like that of the *lorki*, *nayakva*, *kajri*, *birha*, etc., where there are defined groups of performers and of listeners, the possibility of bias in judging the quality of the performance will be minimised. In addition to it, in such cases, the appreciation for a performance of performers by listeners gear it up on the one hand and on the other hand demands of listeners are also entertained by the performers as a result of the audio-visual interaction.

Performance

In a musical performance, the items to be performed, are also important that add to the exhibition of excellence. The items may be the song texts and melodies, dancing poses, instrumentation and acrobatics associated with them. For instance, there are some song texts that are treated excellent in content in the culture of Banaras because of meaningful arrangements of different words. For instance, the *kajri* songs, *lathi bajba tor chalaniya kachahariya jalana* (page—71) and *Mirzapur kayle guljar Kachauri Gali sun kayla balamu* (page—73) are highly appreciated by the people of Banaras. Similarly, there are also certain melodies that are much effective (*vide* notation no. 3, 4 and page—72, 73 respectively). There are also certain physical feats associated with the *Nakkara vadan* that aid in the exhibition of excellence in the performance. However, it totally depends upon how certain items are displayed in a culture. In Banaras, the performance of these items in the form of the *dangal* is highly enjoyed whether it be a *kajri* or a *birha*. The people of Banaras do not feel tired of enjoying the *dangal*, the whole night.

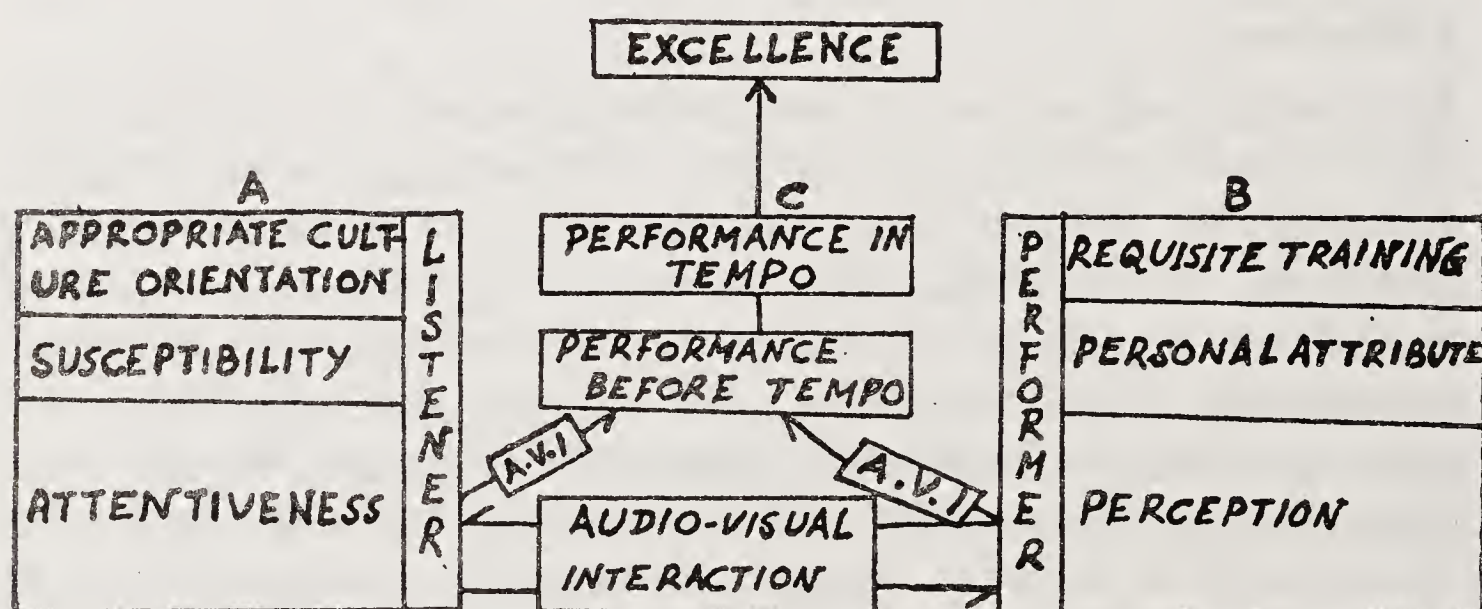
Further, there appears to have a correspondence between the tempo and the musical performance. The change in the tempo brings out the change in the colour of the performance. Thus the tempo is a predominant factor that aids to a great extent in vindicating and exhibiting excellence. Many of the listeners have been found less attentive at the outset of a musical performance *i.e.*, before the performance is in tempo

but after the performance gets momentum they become attentive. They say, *ab garmayal hau* (now the performance is "heated" or "in tempo"). This is the stage at which they also become interested. For them, a performance is excellent only when it reaches a stage after "in tempo".

Conditions like appropriate culture-orientation, susceptibility and attentiveness for the identification of excellence and requisite-training, personal attribute and perception in directing a performance towards a higher degree of excellence may be treated as variables being relative in nature. For instance, a listener may be more culture oriented, susceptible and attentive than others. So is the case with a performer who may be more trained and more talented than other in the field of music.

All the variables mentioned above may be treated independent of each other but so far as the identification and the exhibition of excellence are concerned all are inter dependent. But unless there is an audio-visual interaction between listeners and performers, excellence can not be exhibited.

Now a schematic diagram to sum up the discussion on the identification and the exhibition of excellence for a performance where there are defined groups of performers and listeners may be given below :



In the diagram, variables for the identification and exhibition of excellence have been put under column—A and column—B respectively in order of importance from top downwards in different boxes. These boxes are inseparable because the variables put inside are interdependent. The flow of performance with tempo, put in two different but separate boxes, each one representing 'a stage of performance' from 'before tempo' to 'in tempo', has been shown by an arrow sign under column—C. The excellence being a quality of the highest order has been put on the top in the diagram. Here it should be noted that the condition of audio-visual interaction (A.V.I.) between listeners and performers and of listeners and performers with performance has been put at the base of

diagram and shown by the half arrow-sign. It should be pointed out that when the variables discussed here are treated as an integrated system it may lead the performance to a higher order of excellence. The absence of either of the variables may fail to exhibit the desired ideal degree of excellence.

Summary

Excellence is a quality of superlative degree that is instrumental to generating the highest order of appreciation whether it is being exhibited or not may be judged by the audience only in terms of the "affective" as well as the "cognitive" response which are not independent of each other. The affective response is instanteneous, conditioned by musical environment and has explicit meaning. The cognitive response takes appreciable time to occur and has implicit meaning

As music is a product of culture, it may be responded to by a listener only when he is (a) familiar with a culture and its various traits, such as, language, values, ideas, etc., appropriately (b) susceptible to music and (c) attentive to musical performance.

The exhibition of excellence by a performer depends upon the following factors (a) his requisite training, whether it be formal or informal in which he learns appropriate technique to arouse appreciation (b) his personal attribute, a dominant character of an individual performer which also serves as features of his identity and (c) his perception towards (i) an item to which he is going to present and (ii) the audience before whom he is going to present the item.

The audio-visual interaction is necessary either for the judgement or for the exhibition of excellence. The nature of the audio-visual interaction varies according to the type of musical performance. In a solo musical performance where the performer alone is a listener he may not escape idiosyncrasy while judging the excellence. Even in a group performance, where everybody is a performer and listener as well the judgement of excellence may not be impartial because of the bias for the group and the performance in which a listener is himself involved. But in a musical performance where there are defined groups of listeners and performers, the possibility of bias in judging the quality of a performance does not arise.

In a culture there are certain items that are thought excellent the performance of which aid in the exhibition of excellence. This exhibition totally depends upon how these items are performed. In Banaras, a performance in the form of the *dangal* is highly appreciated. Further, the tempo also aids in generating and vindicating the excellence. The change in the tempo brings a corresponding change in the stage of a musical performance.

The factors discussed earlier like appropriate culture-orientation, susceptibility and attentiveness for judging the excellence and requisite training, personal attribute and perception in directing a performance towards a higher degree of excellence may be treated variables being relative in nature although they are independent of each other. Yet in identifying and exhibiting the excellence, they are interdependent. When the variables discussed are treated as an integrated system it may lead the performance to a higher degree of excellence. The absence of either of the variables may fail to exhibit the desired ideal degree of excellence.

Conclusion

At the very outset, in the present study, it had been emphasized that the music in Banaras in particular and India in general, whether it be the *laukic* (folk) or the *shastric* (classical), needs to be studied in its civilizational context in general and also in its specific cultural context of an ethnic group/groups and location. While discussing musical, dance and dramatic forms it was observed that whereas the so-called folk and the classical music in the west are discrete systems, in the Indian situation they are only two different but inter-related aspects or levels of the Indian musical tradition. Basically, the difference between the folk and the classical in India lies in its degree of grammatization from a common base (chapter—II).

We also observe the influence of the *shastric* tradition over the *laukic* tradition in the sphere of music. The concept of *gharana* which is normally conceived as outside the dimension of the folk ideology, has been widely accepted by the folk singers of Banaras under the influence of the *shastric* tradition although basically differing in its mode of persistence (chapter-III). The entrance of the literati in the field of the *laukic* music in Banaras, the urban centre for literal tradition, has influenced both its theme and melody where the *laukic* music appears to have undergone certain basic changes and sometime lost its original character. For instance, in the *shayri kajri* especially in case of the *sahityik kajri* (literary *kajri*), the composers in order to show “poetic excellence” became so rigorous in codified and individualistic presentation employing the constructional rules or formula in their compositions that they were beyond the intelligibility of the common mass (chapter-VI and appendix No. II).

It has further been noted that the parameters to judge a performer in the *laukic* music should be culture and level specific. We observed that some of the parameters for the judgement of a performer in the *laukic* music operate in contrast to those of the *shastric* music. *Udghusta* (the thunderous voice) for instance, is merit for a singer in the *laukic* music but demerit for a singer in the *shastric* music (chapter-IV).

We also find an inter-relationship between the music and the culture. We noted that the rhythms produced on *vadyas* are not conceptualized

in terms of the metrical pattern but in behavioural contexts with which they have been associated. The accommodating character of the Indian civilization is also observed. The Chamar and his *vadya* Nakkara that are thought to be polluting, have occasionally been found to be associated with the sacred performances performed by the non-polluting castes (chapter-V).

The *kajri* forms do not exhibit any structural feature common to all (chapter-VI). The *birha* forms have invariably a feature common to all and they are also found bearing some ethnic features as reflected in their structures (chapter VII).

A comparative study of the *nautch* forms and *nakals* displayed by males and females provides an understanding of the problems of private versus public arena and role-reversal. It indicates that a culture in totality may be intelligible only when the complementary cultural roles of the males and females are considered together. It is also observed that in a society which maintains a binary distinction between the male and the female, the content of a lore is likely to be different for the two sexes. Here, the culture does not appear to ignore the biogenic factor. However, this distinction does not at all exist at the *shastric* level (chapter VIII).

Excellence in the *shastric* music is judged on the basis of a conscious model, the parameters for which are rigorous, codified and well systematized. In this case, both performers and listeners are well trained. Opposite is the case with the tribal music where there is neither a conscious attempt at its exhibition nor at its identification. However, it does not mean that the tribes lack in qualitative aspect in their musical performance. Moreover, they have a sense of completeness and design conventionalized (Prasad, 1972). The folk society is a part of a larger society but is highly localised though not so much as the tribal society. Therefore, its model for judging excellence in the *laukic* music, at a level, is naturally to be guided by the local norms of music (chapter IX).

The *laukic* tradition in the sphere of music in Banaras is carried from generation to generation through (a) the formal institutional organization, *gharana*; (b) its adaptive capacities to the changing situation at a given point of time and (c) persistence of ethnic base.

The study of the institutional organization of the musical tradition in Banaras helped us in understanding the process and the pattern of persistence of the musical tradition. In Banaras, *gharana*, a formal institutional organization, has been observed to serve as a means to continue the musical tradition through master-disciple relationship which transmits the musical tradition to the subsequent generations (chapter III).

The *laukic* music has also persisted bringing in certain features of secularistic "mass" culture of modern urban centres which demands continuous innovation and changes in forms and styles. The *laukic* forms

are able to absorb even modern film songs having western tunes, without loss of identity in order to maintain continuity in the social and cultural content as it has been observed both in the *shayri kajri* and the *shayri birha* (chapter VI and VII).

One of the reasons for the persistence of traditional *laukic* forms in music is the persistence of ethnic base of society not only in settlement pattern, marriage, cohesion in social relationship alone but also intensive interaction among them in a manner that major spheres of life activities remain confined within the ethnic boundaries. Ethnic specific musical forms further strengthens this cohesion. These also help even the young literate members of the ethnic groups to maintain their specific identity in a changing urban situation (chapter VII).

Although we do get an overwhelming picture of persistence and adaptive capacity of Indian civilization, through the study of the *laukic* musical forms and performances in Banaras, yet the rapid invasion and emergence of modern folk "mass" culture, demanding rapid particularistic secular changes may irrevocably destroy the fate of genuine folk culture in an urban milieu. At the moment we can only record the nature of persistence and the thrust of transformation.

Our data indicate that the hierarchical norms in the *varna-jati* social order is also reflected in the exposition of musical forms. We have noted in case of the *shayri kajri* that its *gharanas* have been grouped under four classes, namely, *kalangi* (a prince's feather plume), *sehra* (a nuptial chaplet), *turra* (the crest of a crown) and *dhunda* (a round hole in the centre of a crown in which the *kalangi* is inserted) which broadly correspond to the four *varnas* *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra*. The basis of correspondence is the value attached to the thematic content and interpretative style of each class of the *shayri kajri* (chapter III). A similar observation has also been made in case of the *shastric* musical styles where *Ved mantras* and *prabandhgan*, *dhrupad*, *khayal* and *thumri* represent in values associated with the *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra*, the four *varna* order (chapter II).

Despite the persistence of the traditional forms of music the segmentary character of Indian civilization gets reflected in its specific mode of adjustment at various caste levels. Some of the musical forms are caste specific namely, the *birha* songs of ethnic groups as those of Ahir, Dhobi and Khatik (chapter VII). However, we also observe the inter-caste and inter-community integrative trend at the level of social participation, institutional organisation (master-disciple relationship) and musical forms (chapter III, VI and VII).

The flexibilities in the apparently rigid hierarchic structure of Indian civilization are also being observed. We find that the dominant model of birth ascribed status is often transgressed through individual achievement

both at caste and religious levels as observed in case of the master-disciple relationship (chapter III) and others (chapter IV).

The study of rhythms have been of a great help to understand the continuity between the *laukic* and the *shastric* forms of music. It was observed that the most developed and elaborate forms of rhythmic patterns in the *shastric* music appeared to have been derived from the most simple and primordial forms of the rhythmic pattern (chapter V). A similar observation has been made in case of the *dhunmuniya*, a *laukic* form of melody (specimen no. 2), from which the *jhinjhoti*, a universalized melodic pattern appears to have been derived and developed (chapter VI).

The reverse process of transformation has also been observed where the *shastric* forms of music have been reduced to the *laukic* forms. The *Banarasi*, and *Mirzapuri shayri kajri* are so much influenced by the *ragas* namely, *yaman kalyan* and *alhaiya bilawal* and *bhairavi* respectively that they appear to be the localised versions of the respective universalized melodic pattern (chapter VI). However, quite a substantial number of specimens have remained as residual.

In the above processes of universalization and parochialization there is no disjunction or discontinuity. The universalized form retains the element of the *laukic* form and in a similar manner we do not fail to observe the *shastric* element in the parochialized forms. This can be said mainly on the basis of the *jhinjhoti*, a universalized form derived from the *dhunmuniya* or so and the *Banarasi* and *Mirzapuri shayri kajri*, the *laukic* versions of the respective *ragas* namely *yaman kalyan*, *alhaiya bilawal* and *bhairavi* (chapter VI).

The study of the *kajri* and *birha* song forms has shown that the social organization of musical performance, thematic structure and degree of specialization have changed with the changes in their melodic structures. The *dhunmuniya*, the simplest category of the *kajri* is sung usually alone by a commoner. Its thematic structure like that of its melodic structure is repetitive. The *kajri* proper, a developed category of the *kajri*, is sung by a lady susceptible to music who usually leads a group confined to the neighbourhood. Its thematic structure like that of its melodic structure is in binary form. The *shayri kajri*, the most elaborate and developed category of the *laukic* form of the *kajri*, is sung in group before a large public gathering by a specialist who is capable of arguing with his opponent. Its thematic structure like that of its melodic structure is in tertiary or quaternary form (chapter VI). Some of the *birha* forms have shown similar changes (chapter VII).

Thus in course of the studies as we have presented above, a number of relevant observations came to the fore. At the manifest level, the *Banarasi* culture has been found operating in the dialectics of varieties of dichotomies. For instance, the *laukic* music is uncoded but the *shastric*

music is codified. Similarly the two categories, uniethnocentric and multiethnocentric *gharanas* have been found operating in contrast so far as their structural features, level of inter-ethnic interaction and behavioural codes to be followed by the teachers and their disciples are concerned. The uniethnocentric *gharanas* are basically less burdened by *shastric* contents in contrast to the hierarchic and textual orientation of the multiethnocentric *gharana*. Moreover, if the former is the closed-system *gharana*, the latter is the opened-system *gharana*. We also note that some of the *laukic* song forms appear tending towards universalization, but some of the *shastric* song forms have also been parochialized. Further, the content of the musical lore of the male is found differing from that of the female and so on.

As we probe deeply into the latent level of musical culture, it appears that beneath the surface of apparent dichotomies, musical culture operates on the basis of deep interpenetration of the above dichotomies. The wholeness of the culture appears to be retained and perceived not through dichotomization, but through meaningful fusion of the categories stated above. This finding about the musical dimension of *Banarasi* culture may be applied in a wider range to the totality of Indian civilization.

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Glossary

A

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Abhog</i> | =A musical piece next to <i>sanchari</i> (wandering) |
| <i>Achar Samhita</i> | =Behavioural code |
| <i>Adakari</i> | =Bodily expression |
| <i>Adharbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Adhyaya</i> | =Chapter |
| <i>Ahirau dance</i> | =Dance of the Ahir (caste) |
| <i>Akhara</i> | =Group, field, wrestling ground |
| <i>Alankarik Tan</i> | =Ornamented melodic figures |
| <i>Alha</i> | =A type of ballad |
| <i>Alhaiya Bilawal</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Alap</i> | =Prelude in music |
| <i>Anlara</i> | =A musical piece next to <i>sthayi</i> (level) |
| <i>Anvaddha Vadya</i> | =Membranophone |
| <i>Aonchan</i> | =Threads with which two covers of a musical instrument are tied. |
| <i>Apara music</i> | =Codified music |
| <i>Apara Sanskriti</i> | =Codified or textualised cultural tradition |
| <i>Apara Vidya</i> | =Textualised or codified knowledge |
| <i>Ashtang</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Avalipta</i> | =Proud |
| <i>Ardhang</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Ardhpat bandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Ashirvad</i> | =Blessings |

B

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Badhava</i> | =A custom of sending gift |
| <i>Bageshavari</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Baj</i> | =Style of playing a <i>vadya</i> |
| <i>Baithki Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Khatikau birha</i> |
| <i>Bajugir</i> | =Co-singer |
| <i>Bana</i> | =Boundary |
| <i>Banarasi</i> | =Relating or belonging to Banaras (Varanasi) |
| <i>Banarasi Chhoot</i> | =A variety of the <i>pachhuain chhoot</i> named after the place, Banaras. |
| <i>Banarasi Kajri</i> | =A variety of the <i>kajri</i> proper |
| <i>Bandha Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Dhobiau birha</i> |
| <i>Bandi Banda</i> | =A song-type sung on the occasion of marriage |
| <i>Barat</i> | =A party from the bride-groom's side |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>Barjasta</i> | =Spontaneous composition |
| <i>Barkase</i> | =A type of rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Basant Panchmi</i> | =The fifth day of the spring festival |
| <i>Basanti</i> | =A song performed during spring season |
| <i>Bat</i> | =A variety of the <i>jogira</i> (a style of poetic composition having vulgar content). |
| <i>Bayan</i> | =Left side |
| <i>Bayan</i> | =Description |
| <i>Behari</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Bhadra</i> | =The name of a month in the Hindu calender |
| <i>Bhairavi</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Bhajan</i> | =A type of devotional song |
| <i>Bhakti Pradhan</i> | =Chiefly devotional |
| <i>Bhand</i> | =A community famous for mimicry |
| <i>Bharainti</i> | =The act of mimicry |
| <i>Bhartalla</i> | =A type of rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Bhav</i> | =Sentiment |
| <i>Bhimpalasi</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Bhirant Vidya</i> | =The art of contest |
| <i>Bhupali</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Bilawal</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Bir</i> | =A traditional hero |
| <i>Birahin in Kajri</i> | =A thematic style in <i>kajri</i> composition |
| <i>Birai</i> | =Ring made from rags |
| <i>Bisa</i> | =A variety of the <i>jogira</i> |
| <i>Bol</i> | =Musical beat |
| <i>Bolbanav Ki Thumri</i> | =A style of singing <i>thumri</i> , a form in the Indian classical music, prevalent in Banaras. |
| <i>Brahmajnana</i> | =The knowledge of the Supreme |
| <i>Brahmin Samgeet</i> | =Music of the Brahmin |

C

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Chahka</i> | =A form of the <i>holi</i> song |
| <i>Chaita</i> | =A song type sung during the month of March |
| <i>Chakrabandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Chamrau dance</i> | =A dance style of the Chamar caste |
| <i>Chamrau Nirgun</i> | =The death song sung by the Chamar |
| <i>Chamrauti Vadya</i> | =The musical instrument of the Chamar |
| <i>Chang</i> | =A kind of musical instrument |
| <i>Chanvar</i> | =A flapper |
| <i>Charh Baithna</i> | =To overpower the contestant |
| <i>Charkhana</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Chataibandh</i> | =A kind of metre |

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>Chaturang</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Chauk</i> | =A poem consisting of four lines |
| <i>Chaukapurai</i> | =A ritual of sitting on a cleaned place on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Chautal</i> | =The name of a rhythmic pattern and song-form sung during the <i>holi</i> festival. |
| <i>Chaurasi</i> | =A male dancer |
| <i>Chela Murna</i> | =To cheat a disciple |
| <i>Chhap Chhorna</i> | =To leave impression |
| <i>Chhar</i> | =A particular kind of musical instrument |
| <i>Chhoota Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Dhobiau Birha</i> |
| <i>Chop</i> | =A wooden stick meant for beating the musical instrument. |
| <i>Chhupi Lakri</i> | =Secret musical beats used on crucial moment |
| <i>Choli</i> | =Bodice |

D

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Dafla</i> | =A kind of percussion instrument |
| <i>Damru Bandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Dangal</i> | =A contest between the two or more opposing groups in musical performance. |
| <i>Dangali Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Ahirau birha</i> , also known as the <i>shayri birha</i> . |
| <i>Daur</i> | =A set of musical beats played on the Huduk |
| <i>Dayan</i> | =Right side |
| <i>Deshkar</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Deepavali</i> | =A festival of the light widely celebrated throughout North India when Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth is worshipped. |
| <i>Deepchandi</i> | =A rhythmic pattern in which the Holi song is rendered. |
| <i>Desi Samgeet</i> | =Classical or codified music |
| <i>Dhamar</i> | =A rhythmic pattern and a style of singing in the Indian classical music. |
| <i>Dhanasri</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Dhanushban Bandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Dharnanvit</i> | =Memory |
| <i>Dhobiau Lachari</i> | = <i>Lachari</i> (a song-form) sung by the Dhobi |
| <i>Dhobiau Nirgun</i> | = <i>Nirgun</i> of the Dhobi |
| <i>Dholak</i> | =A kind of percussion instrument |
| <i>Dholakiya</i> | =One who handles the <i>Dholak</i> |
| <i>Dhundha</i> | =A round hole in the middle of a crown in which <i>kalangi</i> is inserted. |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Dhunmuniya</i> | =A category of the <i>kajri</i> song and dance form |
| <i>Dhrupad</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Dhrupadiya</i> | =One who sings the <i>dhrupad</i> |
| <i>Dihbari</i> | =The name of a rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Domre dance</i> | =A dance of the Dom (a caste group) |
| <i>Druvilchhand</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Dukaria</i> | =Duplex in form |
| <i>Du Phooliya</i> | =A poem consisting of two lines |
| <i>Durga</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Dvarpoojaiya Ka Geet</i> | =A song of a ritual of worshipping the door |
| <i>Dvimukhi Vadya</i> | =Two faced-musical instrument |
| <i>Dyoria</i> | =Co-singer |

E

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>Ekang</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Engur</i> | =A red coloured powder |

G

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Gala bandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Gandhar</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Gangadosahra</i> | =A festival in Banaras occurring in the month of May or June. |
| <i>Gara</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Garabh</i> | =Embryo |
| <i>Garli</i> | =Bottom |
| <i>Gaunharin</i> | =A community of female singers |
| <i>Gayki</i> | =Style of singing |
| <i>Gazal</i> | =A style of singing and poetic composition |
| <i>Ghana Vadya</i> | =Autophone |
| <i>Ghanto Chaita</i> | =A variety of the <i>chaita</i> |
| <i>Gharana</i> | =A school of music learning |
| <i>Ghat</i> | =A marked place usually brick built on the river bank serving as a bathing spot. |
| <i>Ghungru</i> | =Small musical balls of brass |
| <i>Gol</i> | =Circle |
| <i>Galgochchha</i> | =A set of artificial moustache and beard |
| <i>Gopuchchhakriti</i> | =Cow's tail shaped |
| <i>Gorabandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Gujariya</i> | =A male-dancer garbed in female-attire at the time of a performance. |
| <i>Gulli</i> | =Wooden cylindrical balls |
| <i>Gupta-Vidya</i> | =Secret knowledge |
| <i>Guru</i> | =One who gives knowledge, elderly persons, etc. |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Guru-Bhai</i> | =Fellow disciples of the same teacher |
| <i>Guru-Dakshina</i> | =Fee or offering to a <i>guru</i> in lieu of his teachings |
| <i>Gurumukhi Vidya</i> | =A knowledge orally transmitted by a teacher |
| <i>Guru-shishya Parampara</i> | =Master-disciple relationship |
| <i>Gyan</i> | =Knowledge |

H

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Haftejuban</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Haritaki</i> | =Myrobolan shaped |
| <i>Hasta Patah</i> | =Fingering technique |
| <i>Hizra</i> | =Eunuchs |
| <i>Holi Geet</i> | =A group of song-forms sung during the <i>holi</i> festival. |
| <i>Hriddyashabd</i> | =Pleasing voice |
| <i>Huduk</i> | =A kind of musical instrument of the Kahar caste |
| <i>Hunkarnevala</i> | =Sounds produced by the associates of a <i>birha</i> singer. |

J

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Jabbar</i> | =Forceful |
| <i>Jabre Ki Tan</i> | =Melodic figures produced from the jaws |
| <i>Janana Samgeet</i> | =Feminine music |
| <i>Janghabandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Jantsar</i> | =An operational song sung while grinding wheat |
| <i>Jajmani</i> | =A system of traditional economic interrelationship of rendering and receiving services in an Indian village. |
| <i>Jaunpuri</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Jhalar-Gudari</i> | =A shirt patched with frills |
| <i>Jhinjhoti</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Jhoomar</i> | =A song-type and also a type of a rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Jitsharya</i> | =Tireless |
| <i>Jiya Jiya Raja</i> | =A term of interjunction meaning live long, O king ! |
| <i>Jogira</i> | =A style of poetic composition rendered during the <i>holi</i> festival having vulgar content. |
| <i>Jori</i> | =Cymbals |
| <i>Jorigada</i> | =A kind of physical display by brandishing club and also a type of rhythmic pattern. |
| <i>Jor-Tor</i> | =Vying with each other in musical terms |

K

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Kamalbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
|-------------------|------------------|

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Kamarbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Kanhavar</i> | =A thick thread tied with the musical instrument to hang on the shoulder |
| <i>Karak</i> | =Thunderous voice |
| <i>Kasavar</i> | =A circular metallic musical instrument |
| <i>Kahrau Gharana</i> | = <i>Gharana</i> of the Kahar caste |
| <i>Kahrau Music</i> | =Music of the Kahar |
| <i>Kahrau Nirgun</i> | = <i>Nirgun</i> of the Kahar |
| <i>Kajri</i> | =A song-type sung during the rainy season |
| <i>Kajri of Adhar</i> | =Singing of <i>kajri</i> without letting the lips to touch each other |
| <i>Kajri Teej</i> | =A festival observed during the rainy season |
| <i>Kalangi</i> | =A prince's feather plume |
| <i>Kampita Svara</i> | =Vibrating note |
| <i>Kapatbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Kartal</i> | =A metallic musical instrument |
| <i>Kathak</i> | =A classical dance as well as a community of musicians in Banaras. |
| <i>Kayavistar Ki Kajri</i> | =The <i>kajri</i> composition based on the theme pertaining to the body. |
| <i>Khalifa</i> | =A veteran performer |
| <i>Khamsa</i> | =A style of poetic composition sung during the <i>holi</i> festival. |
| <i>Khandan Mandan</i> | =Contest |
| <i>Khand Kartari</i> | =A kind of fingering technique |
| <i>Kharan</i> | =A kind of paste affixed to the middle of the <i>vadya</i> |
| <i>Khari Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Ahirau birha</i> |
| <i>Khari Kalaiya</i> | =A kind of physical display and also a type of rhythmic pattern. |
| <i>Khari Rangat ki Kajri</i> | = <i>Kajri</i> composed in local dialect without following the codified rule. |
| <i>Khatikau dance</i> | =Dance of the Khatik caste |
| <i>Khatikau Lachari</i> | = <i>Lachari</i> sung by the Khatik |
| <i>Khayal</i> | =A style of singing in the classical music |
| <i>Khichri</i> | =A ritual of eating cooked rice mixed with pulse on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Khayal</i> | =A compositional style in the <i>shayri kajri</i> |
| <i>Khayaliya</i> | =One who sings <i>khayal</i> |
| <i>Kirtan</i> | =A type of devotional song |
| <i>Koha</i> | =Vessel |
| <i>Kokila kanth</i> | =The quality of a voice compared in its sweetness to that of a cuckoo. |
| <i>Komal Svara</i> | =Flat note |

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Korari</i> | =Border of the musical instrument |
| <i>Kripa</i> | =The act of benevolence |
| <i>Kshatriya Samgeet</i> | =Music of the Kshatriya |
| <i>Kubari</i> | =A spiral stick |
| <i>Kundal</i> | =A circular bamboo stick |
| <i>Kuri</i> | =A circularly woven leather thongs |
| <i>Kursinama</i> | =Genealogy |
| <i>Kurta</i> | =Shirt |

L

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Lachak</i> | =An expression of flexibility in the tone |
| <i>Lachari</i> | =A song-type sung by females and also a type of rhythmic pattern. |
| <i>Lakhnaua Chhoot</i> | =A variety of the <i>pachhuain choot</i> named after Lucknow. |
| <i>Lakshnam</i> | =Characteristic |
| <i>Lalat-bandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Lalit</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Larant Vidya</i> | =The art of contest |
| <i>Larbari</i> | =A leather strip just close to the <i>pagri</i> |
| <i>Latka</i> | =Tune |
| <i>Lattu Hona</i> | =To be enamoured |
| <i>Launda</i> | =A term of address for a male dancer |
| <i>Laukic music</i> | =Uncodified music of the people |
| <i>Laukic Samgeetagya</i> | =Musician of the uncodified music |
| <i>Laukic Sanskriti</i> | =Uncodified cultural tradition |
| <i>Laukic Vidya</i> | =Uncodified knowledges of the people which is verbally transmitted. |
| <i>Laychi</i> | =Contract |
| <i>Loriki (or Chanaini)</i> | =A type of ballad of the Ahir |

M

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Mahudi</i> | =A kind of musical instrument |
| <i>Maharani</i> | =A term of address for the goddess Durga or Sitala |
| <i>Magh</i> | =The name of a month in the Hindu calender |
| <i>Maitripoojan Ka Geet</i> | =A song of a ritual of worshipping goddess Maitri |
| <i>Maitri Devi</i> | =The name of a goddess and also a type of rhythmic pattern in the <i>laukic</i> music. |
| <i>Malkaunsh</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Malla Vidya</i> | =The art of wrestling |
| <i>Maltichhand</i> | =A kind of meter |
| <i>Mamma</i> | =Mother's brother |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Mand</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Mangtika</i> | =An ornament put on the fore-head along the partition of the hair. |
| <i>Mansedu Sangeet</i> | =Masculine music |
| <i>Mardana Sangeet</i> | =Masculine music |
| <i>Margi music</i> | =A music of contemplation governed by strictly codified laws of musical presentation. |
| <i>Mattikatai</i> | =A ritual of digging the soil on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Matra</i> | =Unit of time |
| <i>Matrika Poojan</i> | =A ritual of worshipping goddess on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Moulana</i> | =A Muslim priest |
| <i>Mehraru Samgeet</i> | =Feminine music |
| <i>Merara</i> | =The main body of the musical instrument |
| <i>Mirzapuri Kajri</i> | =A variety of the <i>kajri</i> proper |
| <i>Mridang</i> | =A type of musical instrument |
| <i>Mukhtal</i> | =A variety of the <i>jogira</i> |
| <i>Munari</i> | =A metallic ring |
| <i>Musahrau Nautch</i> | =A dance of the Musahar. |

N

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Nabhibandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Nachni Song</i> | =A type of <i>kirtan</i> song |
| <i>Nahchhu</i> | =A ritual of cutting nail on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Nakal</i> | =Mimicry |
| <i>Nakhsikhi</i> | =Description from head to feet |
| <i>Nakkara</i> | =A kind of percussion instrument |
| <i>Nanad</i> | =Sister-in-law (husband's sister) |
| <i>Nat Bhairav</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Naua Jhamar</i> | =A song form sung by the Nau caste |
| <i>Nautanki</i> | =The name of a rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Nautch</i> | =Dance |
| <i>Nayakva</i> | =A type of ballad of the Teli caste |
| <i>Netrabandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Nirghosh</i> | =A kind of fingering technique |
| <i>Nirgun</i> | =A death song |
| <i>Nirgunia Kajri</i> | = <i>Kajri</i> composition based on <i>nirgun</i> ideology |

O

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Osthbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Oz Pradhan</i> | =Chiefly heroic |

P

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Pachra</i> | =A song-type sung in the name of the goddess Sitala or Durga. |
| <i>Pachhuain Choot or Ranga</i> | =A variety of the <i>pachhuain</i> song of Kahars usually composed of two lines. |
| <i>Pada Kirtan</i> | =A type of devotional song famous in Bengal |
| <i>Paddhati.</i> | =System |
| <i>Pagri</i> | =Turban |
| <i>Palla</i> | =A circular cover made from the skin |
| <i>Panch Kroshi Parikrama</i> | =Circumambulation around a radius of ten miles |
| <i>Pandit</i> | =Scholar |
| <i>Pani</i> | =Essence |
| <i>Panyantar</i> | =A kind of fingering technique |
| <i>Paras</i> | =Chapters of the Koran |
| <i>Para music</i> | =Transcendental music |
| <i>Para Sanskriti</i> | =Transcendental cultural tradition |
| <i>Para Vidya</i> | =A knowledge through which the ultimate reality is known. |
| <i>Paraitopai</i> | =A ritual of covering an earthen dish on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Parh</i> | =A set of musical beats played on the Huduk |
| <i>Patah</i> | =A name used for Dholak in the Sanskrit literature |
| <i>Pataha</i> | =Ancient Indian name of the <i>Dafla</i> |
| <i>Patalpuri</i> | =The world under-earth |
| <i>Phag</i> | =A song-type associated with the <i>phag</i> festival observed during February-March. |
| <i>Phalgun</i> | =A name of the month in the Hindu calender |
| <i>Phatkaina</i> | =Thin wooden stick used for beating the <i>Dafla</i> |
| <i>Pihikna</i> | =Cooing |
| <i>Pilu</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Poojya</i> | =Worshipful |
| <i>Prabandh Geet</i> | =A style of singing in the ancient Indian classical music. |
| <i>Prasari</i> | =Bodily actions |
| <i>Proshit Patita</i> | =A lady who is separated temporarily from her husband. |
| <i>Punnagvarali</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Purvang</i> | =The first half of the octave |

R

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Rahchaltu Birha</i> | =A variety of the <i>Khatikau birha</i> |
| <i>Raga</i> | =Melodic pattern |
| <i>Ratikriya</i> | =Erotic actions |

Rajjaga =To remain awake at night, a special day for musical performance.

S

- Sahityik Kajri** =Literary *kajri* based on constructional rule
Samdashta =Scranching
Sadhu =Saint
Sambhog Kriya =The act of conjugation
Samgeet =Music
Samgeet Vidya =The knowledge of music
Sanchari =A musical piece next to *antara* (wandering)
Sanskriti =Cultural tradition
Sapat Tan =Simple and straight melodic figures
Sarangi Chhand =A kind of metre
Saree =A long piece of cloth used for wrapping the body by the female.
Sarhul =Songs related to the *sarhul* festival
Sarvakalik =The *ragas* to be sung throughout the day and night.
Sasu =Mother in-law
Satpatra =True devotee
Satta =Contract
Saval-Jabal =Question-answer
Savdhan =Caution
Sehra =A nuptial chaplet
Shadi Ka Geet =Marriage songs
Shankh-bandh =A kind of metre
Sharafa =A kind of metre
Shastriya, Shastric =Classical
Shastriya Chaita =Classicalized *chaita*
Shastriya Samgeetagya =Musician of the classical music
Shayar =A composer
Shayri =The art of composition
Shayri Birha =A variety of *birha*
Shayri Kajri =A category of *kajri*
Shilpoojan Ka Geet =A song of a ritual of worshipping grinding stone
Shravan =A kind of metre
Shravan =The name of a month in Hindu calender
Shringarik =Erotic
Shudra Samgeet =Music of the Shudra
Siri =Beuty
Sirni Dena =To offer sweet-meat to a teacher
Sohar =A song sung on the birth of a child

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Stanbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Sthayi</i> | =Beginning of a composition (level) |
| <i>Suddha Svara</i> | =Natural note |
| <i>Suha</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Sumirni</i> | =A song of remembrance |
| <i>Sushir Vadya</i> | =Aerophone |
| <i>Svara</i> | =Musical note |

T

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Tal</i> | =Rhythmic pattern |
| <i>Talagya</i> | =A scholar of <i>tal</i> |
| <i>Tantra Vidya</i> | =The knowledge of the <i>tantra</i> |
| <i>Tappa</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Tarana</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Tek</i> | =The line which is repetitive |
| <i>That</i> | =Musical mode |
| <i>Thekana</i> | =Guarantee |
| <i>Theth</i> | =Local dialect |
| <i>Thumki</i> | =A kind of physical display and also a type of rhythmic pattern. |
| <i>Thumri</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Tikki</i> | =A circular cover made from leather |
| <i>Tilakbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Tilak Ka Geet</i> | =A song of dowry |
| <i>Tilak Kamod</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Tivra</i> | =Sharp |
| <i>Tiwari</i> | =A joker |
| <i>Todi</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Tomarchhand</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Toran</i> | =Break |
| <i>Totak Chhand</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Trishulbandh</i> | =A kind of metre |
| <i>Trivat</i> | =A style of singing in the Indian classical music |
| <i>Tumbaki</i> | =Expansion of throat |
| <i>Turra</i> | =The crest of a crown |

U

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Ubhay Samgeet</i> | =Common music |
| <i>Uchhalna</i> | =Jumping |
| <i>Udghusta</i> | =The thunderous voice |
| <i>Ullol</i> | =A kind of fingering technique |
| <i>Up-Vadya</i> | =A musical instrument associated with the main musical instrument. |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Uran</i> | =Flight |
| <i>Urdu Chhuavan</i> | =A ritual of touching horse-bean on the occasion of marriage. |
| <i>Ustad</i> | =Maestro |
| <i>Utpathpratipann</i> | =Tending to a wrong direction |
| <i>Uttarang</i> | =The second half of the octave |

V

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>Vadi</i> | =Sonance |
| <i>Vadan</i> | =Instrumentation |
| <i>Vadya</i> | =Musical instrument |
| <i>Vagiswari</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Vah Raja</i> | =A term of interjunction meaning, 'excellent, O king !' |
| <i>Vaishya Samgeet</i> | =Music of the Vaishya |
| <i>Vaivhik Anusthan</i> | =Marriage ritual |
| <i>Varna-system</i> | =A system of classifying the traditional Indian society into four hierarchical order. |
| <i>Vidhan</i> | =Rule |
| <i>Vidya</i> | =Learning |
| <i>Vidyapradata</i> | =One who gives knowledge |
| <i>Vrata</i> | =A vowed observance |

Y

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Yaman</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Yaman Kalyan</i> | =A melodic pattern |
| <i>Yava Kriti</i> | =Barley shaped |

APPENDIX II

Kajri—Charkhana Chitra Shishapalat*

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|------|----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | |
| 1 | Ni | ga | ha | Ka | ra | Ke | ru | Kh | pa | r | to | ha | re | shai | da | hai | te | ra | h | ma | n | |
| 2 | Ga | ha | r | ha | va | sh | Kha | va | r | men | ra | le | ya | da | va | r | ra | he | a | h | la | n |
| 3 | Ha | r | pa | l | ru | Khe | Kha | r | da | r | Ki | lo | sa | a | ra | d | na | mu | ra | dai | Ka | r |
| 4 | Ka | ha | l | ra | Khe | a | ra | vi | ye | men | ra | he | Ka | mai | vu | la | pa | s | men | da | va | r |
| 5 | Ra | v | ru | Khe | pa | r | da | p | ki | Ga | t | pa | ye | ra | h | ma | n | li | s | ni | cha | r |
| 6 | Ke | sh | Khe | a | r | ma | chi | t | Ju | j | tu | ya | da | sa | re | ne | Ka | m | ma | m | ga | r |
| 7 | Ru | Kh | Kha | ra | da | Chi | n | ta | n | ma | la | ga | va | h | aa | s | ma | m | ta | na | ha | n |
| 8 | Kha | Va | r | vi | p | ta | ta | n | ki | li | ne | na | m | ma | i | ta | na | ma | ya | men | va | le |
| 9 | Pa | ra | da | ye | ki | ju | n | ki | si | da | r | gu | va | da | n | ye | da | h | da | m | la | le |
| 10 | Ra | men | ra | men | a | j | ma | li | y | ha | s | men | ma | m | a | ra | mo | h | va | s | bh | le |
| 11 | To | ra | ki | ra | ta | tu | la | ne | ra | kh | men | hai | na | vi | a | s | ha | ma | ra | ka | ra | le |
| 12 | Ha | le | lo | he | pa | ch | gu | va | gu | men | hai | da | ha | t | ka | ta | m | ta | ra | na | ra | n |
| 13 | Re | ya | sa | ka | ye | da | va | ma | n | ma | n | ha | r | ga | r | ai | ma | n | se | ha | ha | m |
| 14 | Shi | da | a | mai | ra | s | ha | m | da | ma | Vi | t | ka | ma | ka | ba | d | ka | na | sa | ma | m |
| 15 | Da | va | ra | vu | ha | re | aa | i | na | a | a | ka | r | ka | va | dun | di | la | s | he | ga | m |

APPENDIX

//Chauk//

//Uran//

//Chauk//

//Uran//

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|----|-----|----|----|-----------|
| 16 | Hai | ra | d | la | ma | ne | sa | t | ye | ra | s | ta | ye | ra | tu | m | la | se | da | m | ma | m | //Chauk// |
| 17 | Te | ra | na | pa | n | ka | ma | m | na | d | mo | h | ma | m | da | li | l | sa | tu | na | da | n | //Uran// |
| 18 | Ra | he | mu | s | li | m | ma | ma | h | ha | ma | ta | n | ka | l | se | tu | chhe | hi | hai | ra | sa | |
| 19 | Ra | a | ra | me | sa | m | ta | Tha | da | v | ra | r | se | a | sa | d | se | di | ka | r | he | ga | |
| 20 | Ha | ha | dai | da | ni | m | na | me | ma | sa | k | na | v | ra | he | ma | na | hai | ra | ha | sa | ja | |
| 21 | Ma | sa | ka | ua | ch | ga | ha | v | ta | ma | r | ra | h | ma | g | ma | da | r | he | sa | ja | ta | //Chauk// |
| 22 | Na | n | r | r | ra | r | na | le | la | le | le | na | ma | m | ma | m | na | sa | ga | ja | ta | n | //Uran// |

*The poetic art that has been observed here in the composition of the above poem is somewhat alike another art known as *qalb* in persian requiring a tremendous amount of mental exercise. The main characteristic of this kind of composition as it will be observed is its arrangement of words in a way that it can be read in the same way vertically as well as horizontally. This obviously has to be done at the cost of its intelligibility and meaning which sometimes it may be devoid of, though the arrangement of words remain to be musical.

APPENDIX III
Kursinama (Genealogical Table) No. I
BIRHA CHARANA (*Gharana* of Bihariguru)

Bihariguru
Ahir, Singing (+*Shayri*)
Illiterate, Banaras

Sarju Khaliffa
Pasi, Singing +
Agricultural work
Literate, Sarnath
(Banaras)

Ganesh
Ahir, Singing + Milk selling,
Illiterate, Patharahva
(Banaras)

Ramman Das
Ahir, Singing + Milk selling
Literate, Chaokaghat
(Banaras)

Pattuguru
Ahir, Singing + Daily
labour Illiterate,
Chhotigaibi
(Banaras)

Ramsevak Singh
Rajput, Singing +
Service, Literate
(intermediate),
Gazipur

Ambika Maharaj
Brahman, Singing,
Literate, Dharsauna
(Banaras)

Barsati Rajbhar,
Singing + Agricul-
tural work,
Illiterate, Sarnath
(Banaras)

Kasi, Pasi,
Singing, Literate
Naipokhri
(Banaras)

Ramjiyavan
Ahir, Singing
+ Milk-selling
Literate,
Bibhatiya
(Banaras)

Ramdev Ahir,
Singing,
Literate,
Katuapur
(Banaras)

Mustafa
Muslim,
Singing,
Literate (8th
class)
Agapur
(Gazipur)

Mulai Ahir,
Singing
Milk-selling
Literate,
Chaokaghat
(Banaras)

Gatar Ahir
Singing +
Milk-selling
Literate
Parenpur
(Banaras)

Hiralal (Ego)
Ahir,
Singing
Literate
Chaokaghat
(Banaras)

Sukhnandan
Kurmi, Sing-
ing + Agricul-
tural work,
Literate (B.A.),
Chhotigaibi
(Banaras)

Ramsakal Ahir,
Singing + Milk-
selling Literate
(5th class)
Chhotigaibi
(Banaras)

Bullu
Ahir,
Singing
Literate,
Natiimli
(Banaras)

Ulthan
Ahir,
Singing +
Milk-selling
Literate,
Nauranga-
bad
(Banaras)

Shripat Pahal-
van Ahir,
Singing + Agri-
cultural work
Literate,
Rampur
(Balua)

Kanta
Ahir, Singing + Service,
Literate, Sirkarhaiya (Banaras)

Sudama
Ahir, Singing + Agricultural
work, Literate, Kanta (Banaras)

*The name of the performers, his caste, occupation, education and place to which he belongs stand in order in the genealogical table. This order will also be followed in other tables. In case, where a disciple happens to be a Kin, appropriate symbols have been used to indicate his precise relationship with the ego.

Kursinama (Genealogical Table) No. 2

CHAMRAU GHARANA

(Gharana of Jagesar)

Jagesar Bhagat (Fa Fa)
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Cobbling,
Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Ataru Bhagat (Fa)
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Cobbling
Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Molai Bhagat (Fa Br)
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Cobbling
Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Mithailal (Ego)
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Construction,
Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Motilal (Br)
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Daily labour
Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Ramdulare
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Cobbling
Illiterate, Jagatganj
(Banaras)

Bechulal
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Wire
making, Illiterate,
Siga (Banaras)

Chahedu
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Illiterate,
Daily Labour
Siga (Banaras)

Natthu
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Illiterate
(8th Class), Siga
(Banaras)

Bachchalal (So)
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Painting,
Literate (9th class),
Siga (Banaras)

Ramji (So)
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Painting,
Literate (4th class)
Siga (Banaras)

Shyamji (So)
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan, Literate
(1st class)
Siga (Banaras)

Mangru
Dhakar, Nakkara
Vadan+Carpet-
making, Illiterate,
Pandeypur (Banaras)

Lachhman
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Service,
Literate, Tulsipur
(Banaras)

Shrinath
Pasi, Nakkara *Vadan*
+Rickshaw-pulling,
Literate (5th class)
Siga (Banaras)

Lalchand
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Weaving,
Literate, Lohta
(Banaras)

Behulal
Pasi, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Illiterate,
Shivpurvan (Banaras)

Nagoi
Dhobi, Nakkara
Vadan+Service,
Literate, Jagatganj
(Banaras)

Chhotelal
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Cobbling,
Illiterate, Beniyan
(Banaras)

Sokha
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Illiterate,
Siga (Banaras)

Gurucharan
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Service,
Literate, Phulwaria
(Banaras)

Raghunandan
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Service,
Literate, Phulwaria
(Banaras)

Ramlal
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Service,
Literate, Phulwaria
(Banaras)

Chedilal
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Daily
Labour, Illiterate
Rajatalab (Banaras)

Ganesu
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Weaving,
Literate (2nd Class)
Siga (Banaras)

Sachau
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Illiterate,
Siga (Banaras)

Jaggan
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Daily
Labour, Illiterate,
Siga (Banaras)

Jiuta
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Daily Labour,
Illiterate, Siga
(Banaras)

Dasmi
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Literate (5th
Class), Siga (Banaras)

Dingur
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Literate (8th
Class) Siga (Banaras)

Jittu
Chamar, Nakkara
Vadan+Rickshaw-
pulling, Literate (5th
Class) Siga (Banaras)

Sardha
Chamar, Nakkara, *Vadan*+Rickshaw-pulling
Literate, Dhaunsabad (Banaras)

Pancham
Chamar, Nakkara *Vadan*+Daily Labour
Illiterate, Dhaunsabad (Banaras)

Dhari
Chamar, Nakkara, *Vadan*+Daily
Labour, Illiterate, Siga (Banaras)

Kursinama (Genealogical Table) No. 3

DHOBIAU GHARANA

(Gharana of Binesari)

Baffat

Muslim Julaha, *Kajri* singing (+*Shayri*) + Weaving

Illiterate, Sikhar (Mirzapur)

Binesari

Dhobi, Singing (+*Shayri*) + Washing

Can read only,

Ramnagar (Banaras)

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|
| Jaggu Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate Ramnagar (Banaras) | Doman Dhobi, Singing + Washing Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Teju Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Javahar Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Gohhar Dhobi, Singing, + Washing Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Jhapsi Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Bahadur Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate, Ramnagar (Banaras) | Kasi Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Literate Ramnagar (Banaras) |
| Bisnath Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate Ramnagar (Banaras) | Chhotu Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate Ramnagar (Banaras) | Pancham Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate Ramnagar (Banaras) | Mangru (Ego) Dhobi, Singing + Washing, Illiterate Ramnagar (Banaras) | | | | |

Kursinama (Genealogical Table) No. 4

KAHRAU GHARANA*

(Gharana of Rambodh)

Rambodh

Gonrh, Singing (+ *Shayri*) + Grain parching,
Illiterate, Sikanderpur (Banaras)Loda
Gonrh, Singing + Thread making
Illiterate, Mustafahad
(Banaras)Bodha
Gonrh, Singing + Grain
parching, Literate,
Rupchandpur (Banaras)Jhunhu
Gonrh, Singing + Load
Carrying, Illiterate,
Umrahi Bazar
(Banaras)Ramesar
Kahar, Huduk-player
Illiterate, Harha
(Banaras)Khurkhur
Gonrh, Singing + Grain
parching, Illiterate,
Gaddi Ke Thane
(Banaras)Ruppan
Kumhar, Singing +
Service, Illiterate,
AjamgarhDullar
Gonrh, Singing
+ Labour work,
Literate, Tevra
(Banaras)Barsati
Gonrh, Singing
+ Service,
Literate,
BanarasChhedi
Gonrh, Singing,
Literate,
Dharsauna
(Banaras)Nares
Gonrh, Huduk-player
+ Rickshaw pulling,
Literate, Phulwaria
(Banaras)Aliyar
Gonrh, Singing +
Grain parching,
Illiterate, Chanvan
(Banaras)Kanhai
Gonrh, Singing +
Rickshaw pulling,
Illiterate, Hirapur
(Jaunpur)Ramnath
Gonrh, Singing +
Grain parching,
Illiterate, Belva
(Banaras)Punmasi
Gonrh, Singing +
Grain parching,
Illiterate, Sirkanthpur
(Banaras)Ganga
Gonrh, Singing
+ Grain parch-
ing, Literate,
Benaksarai
(Banaras)Jagbir
Gonrh, Singing
+ Grain parch-
ing, Literate,
Tevra (Banaras)Makhvali
Gonrh, Singing
+ Grain parch-
ing, Literate,
Tevra (Banaras)Sukku
Gonrh, Singing + Rickshaw
pulling, Literate, Tevra
(Banaras)Nithuri
Gonrh, Singing +
Labour work,
Literate, Sindhulpur
(Banaras)Mohan
Gonrh, Singing + Tea Stall +
Occasionally work in *Bhand
Mandali*, Literate, Jalhupur
(Banaras)Ballar
Gonrh, Singing + Grain
parching + Stone-cutting,
Literate, Bhanpur
(Banaras)Ramdaur
Gonrh, Singing + Stone-
cutting, Illiterate,
Nahiapuari (Banaras)Bisnath (Ego)
Kahar, Huduk-player
(+ *Shayri*) + Rickshaw
pulling, Illiterate,
Kabirchaura (Banara)Navmi
Gonrh, Dancing,
Illiterate,
GazipurBansu
Gonrh, Singing +
Rickshaw pulling,
Illiterate, Paliya-
payakhpur (Banaras)Kasi
Gonrh, Singing +
Rickshaw pulling,
Illiterate, Paliya-
payakhpur (Banaras)Bhulai
Gonrh, Dancing +
Rickshaw pulling,
Illiterate, Cheteganj
(Banaras)Chhotai
Kahar, Singing +
Carpentary, Literate,
Babiyan (Banaras)Khurkhur
Kahar, Singing +
Betel selling,
Literate,
Babiyan (Banaras)Panaru
Kahar, Singing +
Bidimaking, Literate,
Babiyan (Banaras)Bindra
Kahar, Singing +
Service, Literate,
Ardali Bazar,
(Banaras)Jayram
Gonrh, Singing +
Palanquin carrying +
Water-fetching +
Grain parching,
Illiterate, Jengre
(Banaras)Tulsi
Gonrh, Singing + Grain
parching, Illiterate,
Jengre (Banaras)Ram Karan
Gonrh, Singing + Palanquin
carrying, Illiterate,
Jengre (Banaras)Attar
Gonrh, Singing + Rickshaw
pulling, Literate,
Jengre (Banaras)Mahabir
Gonrh, Singing + Rickshaw
pulling, Literate, Piyari
(Banaras)*Although, most of the performers listed above hail from the Gonrh caste, they accept that they belong to the *Kaharau Gharana*. The caste difference between the Gonrh and the Kahar is not quite distinct.

Kursinama (Genealogical Table) No. 5

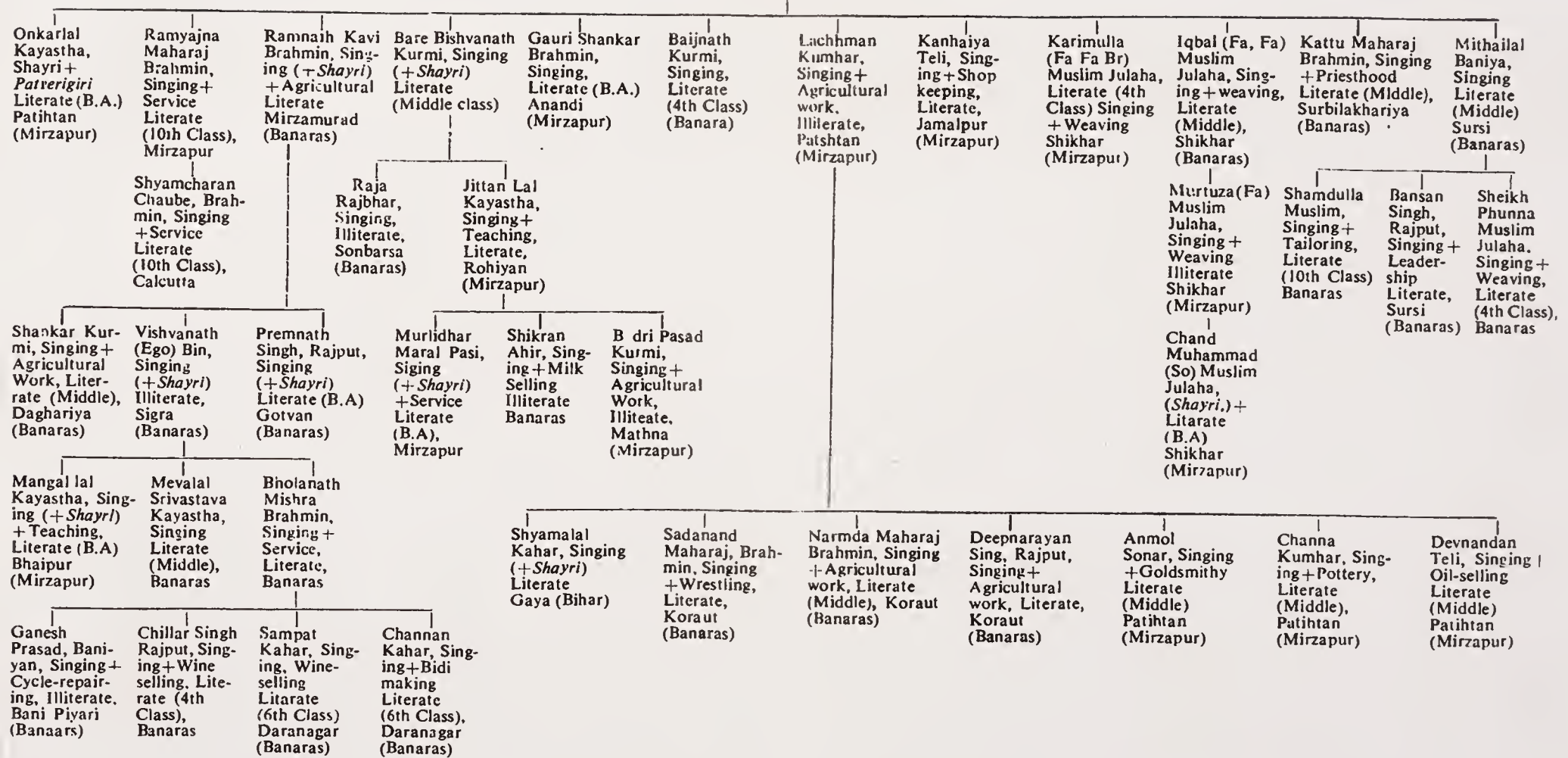
KAJRI GHARANA

(Gharana of Baffat)

Sheikh Baffat (Fa, Fa, Fa)

Muslim Julaha, Singing (+ Shayri) + Weaving

Illiterate, Snikhar (Mirzapur)



Dr. Onkar Prasad did M.Sc. (Anthropology) from Ranchi University in 1972 and Ph.D. (Anthropology) from Calcutta University in 1979. He has many articles and a book entitled *Santal Music : A Study in Pattern and Process of Cultural Persistence* to his credit. Dr. Prasad who is presently working as a lecturer in the Department of Palli Charcha Kendra (Centre for Rural Studies), Visva-Bharati University, Sriniketan-731236, has a deep interest in the field of Anthropology of Music of both the tribal and the non-tribal communities.